



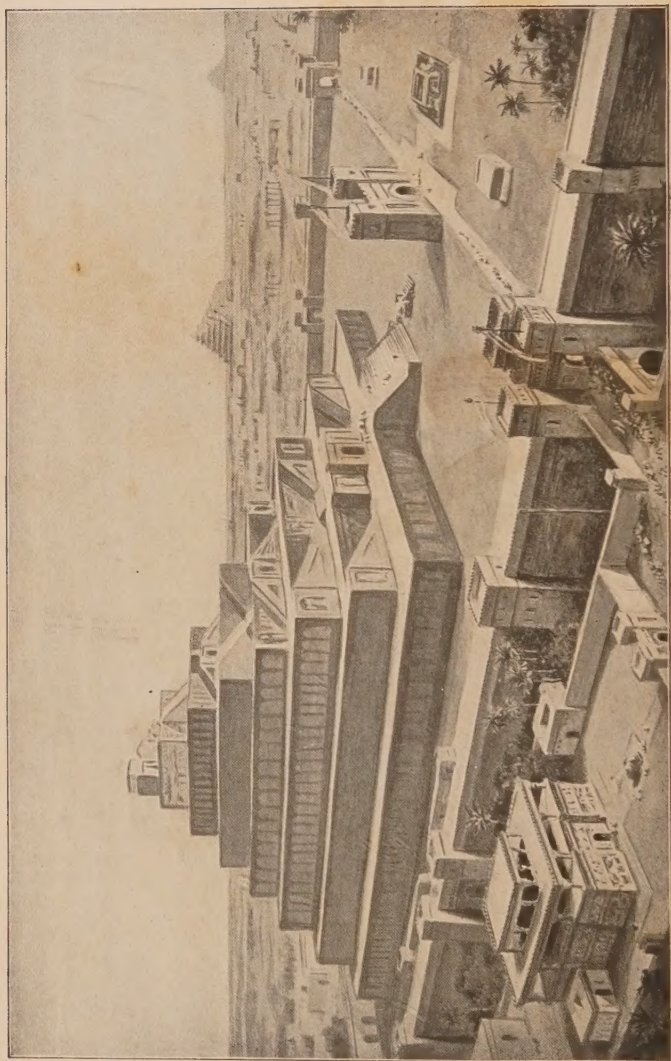


PLATE I.—BABYLON AND ITS THREE TOWERS. (From a photograph of the original picture by William Simpson, Esq., R.I.)

This restoration is based on the data afforded by recent excavations and research

ANCIENT HISTORY

BY

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AND "A GENERAL HISTORY"

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PREFACE

I cannot perhaps better introduce what I have to say here than by quoting the following paragraph from the preface to the 1888 edition of this work. "The following pages are a revision and expansion of . . . my *Outlines of Ancient History*, which was published as a library book in 1882 by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. It is through the generous action of these publishers that I have had the advantage of making this earlier work the basis of the present text-book."

After the lapse of sixteen more years I now give out the present revised edition. The Oriental portion of the work has been almost wholly rewritten; the Greek part is based on my *History of Greece* (1895); the Roman portion on my *Rome: Its Rise and Fall* (1901).

Besides this brief statement of fact there are various other things relating to the scope and aim of the work that might properly enough be said in this place; but the book must speak for itself. I write these prefatory words solely to express my gratitude to those who have helped me, and in doing this to disclaim title to that which does not belong to me. It would not be right should I withhold the fact that during the years I have labored on the volume I have from time to time been assisted by several eminent historical scholars, and that, while the faults of the book are all my own, to these scholars should be ascribed in part whatever merits it may possess. To Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University I am deeply indebted for aiding me in the revision of the proof sheets of the chapters of the Oriental part of the volume; to Dr. Rufus B. Richardson, for many years head of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, I owe special thanks for reading the proofs of the Greek portion; to Dr. Eduard Meyer of the University of Halle and

Professor Henry F. Pelham of the University of Oxford I am indebted for reading all the chapters, but in their more extended form as they appear in my *Rome: Its Rise and Fall*, of the Roman part; while to Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University I am under like deep obligation for giving me his scholarly aid in the revision of the sheets of those chapters of my *Middle Ages* on which the continuation of the present work from the extinction of the Roman Empire in the West to its restoration by Charlemagne is based.

I wish further to make grateful acknowledgment of the assistance given me by Mrs. Mabel E. Hodder, graduate student of Radcliffe College, Cambridge, in the revision and extension of the bibliographies of the Greek and Roman chapters; and of the aid I have received from my former pupil, Miss Lucy M. Blanchard, who has kindly given me the benefit of long class-room use of the earlier work by making various suggestions which I have found very helpful.

I would also tender my thanks to the officers of the Architectural Library of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University, of the Public Library of Boston, and of the Public Library of Cincinnati, for the use and loan of books, photographs, and other illustrative material. To the courtesy of the editors of the magazine *Records of the Past* I am indebted for a photograph of the original picture entitled "The Three Towers of Babylon." In this connection it is fitting that mention should be made of the fact that the many fine pen drawings which embellish the book are by the artist Mr. Homer W. Colby of Boston.

Lastly, to my publishers I feel prompted to express my appreciation of the generosity they have shown, exceeding even what I have dared to suggest, in enriching the volume with maps, cuts, and plates; and to make acknowledgment of the courtesies and efficient aid I have received from the heads and members of the various departments of their house.

P. V. N. M.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO,

May 12, 1904.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: PREHISTORIC TIMES

1. The Antiquity of Man. — We do not know when man first appeared upon the earth. We only know that in ages long past, when both the climate and the outline of the continents were very different from what they are at present, primitive man roamed over them with animals now extinct; and that, about 5000 B.C., when the historic curtain first rises, in some favored regions, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, there were nations and civilizations already venerable with age, and possessing arts, governments, and institutions that bear evidence of slow growth through very long periods of time.¹

2. The Prehistoric and the Historic Age. — The uncounted millenniums which lie back of the time when man began to keep written records of what he thought and did and of what befell him, are called the Prehistoric Age.

The comparatively few centuries of human life which are made known to us through written records comprise the Historic Age. In the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates there have been discovered written records which were made at least four or five thousand years before Christ; so we say that the historic period began in those lands six or seven thousand years ago. On the island of Crete numerous inscriptions have recently been found that apparently were written as early as the fourth millennium B.C. These, however, have not yet been deciphered. Some written records used by Chinese historians seem to go back to the third

¹ The Book of Genesis, which the Christian Church holds to be a divinely inspired record, fixes no definite date for the beginning of human life on the earth.

millennium before our era. In other regions the historic period still begins for us at a much later date. Thus the truly historic age did not open in Greece and Italy until about 800 or 700 B.C., and for the countries of Northern Europe, speaking broadly, not until about the beginning of our era.

3. How we learn about Prehistoric Man. — A knowledge of what prehistoric man was and what he did is indispensable to the historical student; for the dim prehistoric ages of human life form the childhood of the race, — and the man cannot be understood without at least some knowledge of the child.

But how, in the absence of written records, are we to find out anything about prehistoric man? In many ways we are able to learn much about him. Thus, for instance, we may regard existing savage and semi-savage races as representing the prehistoric state of the advanced races. As it has been put, what they now are we once were. So by acquainting ourselves with the life and customs of these laggard races we acquaint ourselves with our own prehistoric past and that of all other civilized peoples.

Again, the men who lived before the dawn of history left behind them many things which witness as to what manner of men they were. In ancient gravel beds along the streams where they fished or hunted, in the caves which afforded them shelter, in the refuse heaps (kitchen middens) on the sites of their villages or camping places, or in the graves where they laid away their dead, we find great quantities of tools and weapons and other articles shaped by their hands. From these things we learn what skill these early men had acquired as tool makers and to what degree of culture they had attained.¹

4. Divisions of Prehistoric Times. — The long period of prehistoric times is divided into different ages which are named from the material which man used in the manufacture of his weapons and tools. The earliest epoch is known as the Paleolithic or Old

¹ Besides these material things which can be seen and handled, there are many immaterial things, as, for instance, language, which light up for us the dim ages before history (see sec. 11).

Stone Age ; the following one as the Neolithic or New Stone Age ; and the later period as the Age of Metals.

The division lines between these ages are not sharply drawn. In most countries the epochs run into and overlap one another, just as in modern times the Age of Steam runs into and overlaps the Age of Electricity.

5. The Paleolithic or Old Stone Age.—In the Old Stone Age man's implements were usually made of stone, and particularly of easily chipped flints, though sometimes bones, horns, tusks, and other material were used in their manufacture. These rude tools and weapons of Paleolithic man, found in gravel beds and in caves, are the very oldest things in existence shaped by human hands.

The man of the Old Stone Age saw the retreating glaciers of the last great ice age, of which geology tells us. Among the animals which lived with him on the continent of Europe—we know most of Paleolithic man there—were



FIG. 1.—THE EARLIEST IMPLEMENTS OF PALEOLITHIC TYPE.² (After Wilson)

the mammoth, the cave bear, the elk, the rhinoceros, the wild horse, and the reindeer ; species which are no longer found in the regions where primitive man hunted them. As the climate gradually grew warmer they either became extinct or retreated up the mountains or migrated towards the north.

What we know of Paleolithic man may be summed up as follows : he was a hunter and fisher ; his habitation was a cave or a rock shelter ; his implements were in the main roughly

² These objects come from France. The central flint in the upper row is especially interesting as being "undoubtedly the ancestor or forerunner of all arrow or spear heads" (Wilson). Of equal interest is the scraper (the upper right-hand flint) as "marking the first step taken by man in the art of tanning, and as being the oldest specialized tool or utensil known to him" (*Ibid.*).

shaped flints ; he had no domestic animals save possibly the dog and the reindeer ; he was practically ignorant of the art of making pottery ; he had no belief in a future life, at least we have no evidence that he buried his dead after the manner of those folk



FIG. 2.—ENGRAVING OF A REINDEER³
(Old Stone Age)

who have come to hold such a belief (sec. 6).

The length of the Old Stone Age no one knows ; we do not attempt to reckon its duration by centuries or millenniums even, but only

by geologic epochs. But we do know—and this is something of vastly greater moment than a knowledge of the duration of the age—that the long slow epochs did not pass away without some progress having been made by primeval man, which assures us that though so lowly a creature he was a creature endowed with capacity for growth and improvement.

Before the end of the age man had learned the use of fire, as we know from the traces of fire found in the caves which were his abode, and had invented the bow and arrow, as is evidenced by arrowheads of flint and of bone which have been discovered. This important invention gave man what was to be one of his chief weapons in the chase and in war down to and even after the invention of firearms late in the historic age.

But most prophetic of the great future before this savage or semi-savage cave man is the



FIG. 3.—ENGRAVING OF A MAMMOTH ON
THE FRAGMENT OF A TUSK³
(Old Stone Age)

sense of form and beauty which he possessed ; for, strange as it may seem, the man of this epoch was in his way an artist.

³ These interesting art objects are from France. They represent the earliest artistic efforts of man of which we have knowledge. In comparison with them, the pictures on the oldest Egyptian monuments are modern.

Hundreds of specimens of drawings or carvings, chiefly of animals, on bone or on ivory have been discovered. The accompanying cuts (Figs. 2 and 3) are reproductions of celebrated engravings made by Paleolithic artists.

6. The Neolithic or New Stone Age. — The Old Stone Age was followed by the New. Chipped or hammered stone implements still continued to be used, but what characterizes this period was the use of ground or polished implements. The North American Indians were in this stage of culture at the time of the discovery of the New World. The old Egyptians and Babylonians seem to have been just emerging from it when they first appear in the dawn of the historic day.

Neolithic man in Europe was in many respects much advanced over Paleolithic man. He had learned to cultivate the soil; he had learned to make pottery, to spin, and to weave; he had domesticated various wild animals; he built houses and constructed great earthen forts; and he buried his dead in such a manner — with “accompanying gifts” (Fig. 4) — as to show that he had come to believe in a future life.

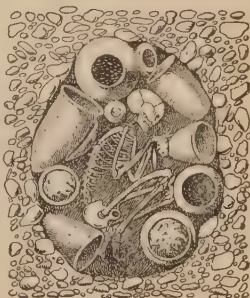


FIG. 4. — A PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN TOMB
(From *Sergi*)

7. The Age of Metals. — Finally the long ages of stone passed into the Age of Metals. This age falls into three subdivisions, — the Age of Copper, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron. Some peoples, like the African negroes, passed directly from the use of stone to the use of iron; but in most of the countries of the Orient and of Europe the three metals came into use one after the other and in the order named.

Speaking broadly, we may say that the Age of Metals embraces the five millenniums preceding the opening of our era. This means that for some peoples, as for instance the Egyptians and the Babylonians, these epochs or stages of culture fall within their historic period, while for others, as for instance the Greeks and

the Romans, they begin in their prehistoric and overlap their historic age.⁴

The history of metals has been declared to be the history of civilization. Indeed, it would be almost impossible to overestimate their importance to man. Man could do very little with stone implements compared with what he could do with metal implements. It was a great labor for primitive man, even with the aid of fire, to fell a tree with a stone axe and to hollow out the trunk for a boat. He was hampered in all his tasks by the rudeness of his tools. It was only as the bearer of metal implements and weapons that he began really to subdue the earth and to get dominion over nature. All the higher cultures of the ancient world with which history begins were based on the knowledge and use of metals.

8. The Origin of the Use of Fire. — In this and following paragraphs we shall dwell briefly upon some of the special discoveries and achievements, several of which have already been mentioned, marking important steps in man's progress during the prehistoric ages. Prominent among these was the discovery of fire.

The origin of the use of fire is hidden in the obscurity of prehistoric times. That fire was known to Paleolithic man we learn, as already noted, from the traces of it discovered in the caves and rock shelters which were his abode. No people has ever been found so low in the scale of culture as to be without it.

As to the way in which early man came into possession of fire we have no knowledge. Possibly he kindled his first fire from a glowing lava stream or from some burning tree trunk set aflame

⁴ The use of copper seems to have begun among the peoples of the Orient before 5000 B.C. It is a soft metal, and tools and weapons made of it were not so greatly superior to the stone ones then in use as to put them out of service. But either by accident or through experiment it was discovered that by mixing about nine parts of copper with one part of tin a new metal, called bronze, much harder than either tin or copper, could be made. So greatly superior were bronze to stone implements that their introduction caused the use of stone for tools and weapons to be discontinued, and consequently the Age of Bronze constitutes a well-defined and important epoch in the history of culture. Bronze seems to have been used by the first kings of Egypt, about 4500 B.C. From the East the metal was carried into Europe. Iron was already in use among the Oriental peoples about 1500 B.C., and was gradually introduced among the European tribes.

by the lightning. However this may be, he had in the earliest times learned to produce the vital spark by means of friction. The fire borer, according to Tylor, is among the oldest of human inventions.

Only gradually did primeval man learn the various properties of fire and discover the different uses to which it might be put, just as historic man has learned only gradually the possible uses of electricity. By some happy accident or discovery he learned that it would harden clay, and he became a potter; that it would smelt ores, and he became a worker in metals; and that it would aid him in a hundred other ways. "Fire," says Joly, "presided at the birth of nearly every art, or quickened its progress." The

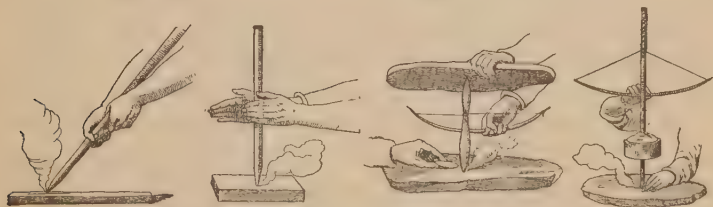


FIG. 5.—PRIMITIVE METHODS OF MAKING FIRE
(After *Ranke-Tylor*)

place it holds in the development of the family, of religion, and of the industrial arts is revealed by these three significant words—"the hearth, the altar, the forge." No other agent has contributed more to the progress of civilization. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how without fire primitive man could ever have emerged from the Age of Stone.

9. The Domestication of Animals. — "When we visit a farm at the present day and observe the friendly nature of the life which goes on there,—the horse proudly and obediently bending his neck to his yoke; the cow offering her streaming udder to the milk-maid; the woolly flock going forth to the field, accompanied by their trusty protector, the dog, who comes fawning to his master,—this familiar intercourse between man and beast seems so natural that it is scarcely conceivable that things may once have been different.

And yet in the picture we see only the final result of thousands and thousands of years of the work of civilization, the enormous importance of which simply escapes our notice because it is by everyday wonders that our amazement is least excited."⁵

The most of this work of inducing the animals of the fields and the woods to become as it were members or dependents of the human family, to enter into a league of friendship with man and to become his helpers, was done by prehistoric man. When man appears in history, he appears surrounded by almost all the domestic animals known to us to-day. The horse was already his willing servant; the dog was his faithful companion; the sheep, the cow, and the goat shared his shelter with him.

The domestication of animals had such a profound effect upon human life and occupation that it marks the opening of a new epoch in history. The hunter became a shepherd, and the hunting stage in culture gave place to the pastoral.⁶

10. The Domestication of Plants. — Long before the dawn of history those peoples of the Old World who were to play great parts in early historic times had advanced from the pastoral to the agricultural stage of culture. Just as the step from the hunting to the pastoral stage had been taken with the aid of a few of the most social species of animals, so had this second upward step from the pastoral to the agricultural stage been taken by means of the domestication of a few of the innumerable species of the seed grasses and plants growing wild in field and wood.

Wheat and barley, two of the most important of the cereals, were probably first domesticated on the plains of Babylonia and from there carried over Asia and Europe. These grains, together with oats and rice, have been, in the words of Tylor, "the mainstay of human life and the great moving power of civilization." They constituted the basis of the earliest great states and civilizations of Asia and Europe.

⁵ SCHRADER, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (London, 1890), p. 259.

⁶ It is of interest to know that most of the wild stocks whence have come our domestic animals are of Old-World origin. It is thought by some that one reason why the tribes of the New World at the time of its discovery were so far behind the peoples of the Old was that there were fewer tamable animals here.

The domestication of plants and the art of tilling the soil effected a great revolution in prehistoric society. The wandering life of the hunter and the herder now gave way to a settled mode of existence. Cities were built, and within them began to be amassed those treasures, material and immaterial, which constitute the precious heirloom of humanity. This attachment to the soil of the hitherto roving clans and tribes meant also the beginning of political life. The cities were united into states and great kingdoms were formed, and the political history of man began, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

Early man seems to have realized how much he owed to the art of husbandry, for in the mythologies of many peoples some god or goddess is represented as having taught men how to till the soil and to plant the seed. It seemed to man that for so great a boon he must be beholden to the beneficence of the gods.⁷

II. The Formation of Language. — Another great task and achievement of primitive man was the making of language. The earliest speech used by historic man, as Tylor observes, "teaches the interesting lesson that the main work of language-making was done in the ages before history."

The vastness of this work is indicated by the rich and intricate nature of the languages with which history begins, for language-making, particularly in its earliest stages, is a very slow process. Periods of time like geologic epochs must have been required for the formation out of the scanty speech of the first men, by the slow process of word-making, of the rich and copious languages already upon the lips of the great peoples of antiquity, the Hamitic

⁷ So thorough was prehistoric man's search for whatever in the plant world could be cultivated for food that historic man has not been able during the last 2000 years from the tens of thousands of wild plants to discover any species comparable in value to any one of the staple food-plants selected and domesticated by primeval man (De Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 451). It is interesting further to note that while early man exploited the organic kingdoms, that is to say the animal and vegetable realms, he made few and slight requisitions upon the forces of the inorganic world. It was reserved for the men of the later historic age to domesticate, so to speak, the powerful agents steam and electricity and by their utilization to effect revolutions in modern society like those effected in prehistoric times by the domestication of animals and plants.

Egyptians, the Semitic Babylonians, the Aryans of India and Persia, and their kinsmen, the Greeks and Romans, when they first appear in the morning light of history.

We need not dwell upon the inestimable value to man of the acquisition of language. Without it all his other acquisitions and discoveries would have remained comparatively fruitless, all his efforts to lift himself to higher levels of culture have been unavailing. Without it, so far as we can see, he must have remained forever in an unprogressive and savage or semi-savage state.

12. The Invention of Writing. — Still another achievement of prehistoric man, and after the making of language perhaps his greatest, certainly the most fruitful, was the invention of writing.

The first form of writing used by primitive man was picture writing, such as was and is still used by some of the Indian tribes



FIG. 6. — INDIAN PICTURE WRITING.⁸ (After Mallery-Deniker)

of the New World. In this system of writing the characters are rude pictures of material objects, as for instance a picture of an eye  to indicate the organ of sight; or they are symbols of ideas, as for illustration a picture consisting of wavy lines beneath an arc representing the sky  to indicate rain. This way of representing ideas, which  seems natural to man, is known as ideographic writing, and the signs are called ideograms.

A great step in advance is taken when the picture writer uses his pictures or symbols to represent not actual objects or ideas, but sounds of the human voice, that is, words. This step was taken in prehistoric times by different peoples independently. It seems to have been taken by means of the rebus, a mode of writing which children love to employ. What makes rebus writing possible is the existence in every language of words having

⁸ Record of an Alaskan hunt. It reads thus: I go, by boat (indicated by paddle); sleep one night (hand to side of head denotes sleep), on island with two huts; I go to another island; two sleeps there; hunt with harpoon, sea lion; also with bow; return by boat with companion (indicated by two oars), to my lodge.

the same sound but different meanings. Thus in English the pronoun *I* is sounded like the word *eye*, and the word *reign*, to rule, like the word *rain*. Now the picture writer, wishing to express the idea *I reign*, could do so by the use of the two pictures or ideograms given above, in this way,  . When so used, the ideogram becomes a phonogram, and  the writing is phonetic or sound writing.

In this manner the great chasm between picture writing and sound writing is bridged, and one of the most difficult steps taken in the development of a practical system of representing thought.

In the first stage of sound writing, each picture or symbol stands for a whole word. In such a system as this there must of course be as many characters or signs as there are words in the language represented. In working out their system of writing the Chinese stuck fast at this point (sec. 112).

Two additional steps beyond this stage are required in order to perfect the system. The first of these is taken when the characters are used to represent syllables instead of words. This reduces at once the number of signs needed from many thousands to a few hundreds, since the words of any given language are formed by the combination of a comparatively small number of syllables. With between four and five hundred symbols the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, who used this form of writing, were able to represent all the words of their respective languages (sec. 53). Characters or symbols used to represent syllables are called syllabic phonograms, and a collection of such signs is called a syllabary.

While a collection of syllabic signs is a great improvement over a collection of word signs, still it is a clumsy instrument for expressing ideas, and the system requires still further simplification. This is done and the final step in developing a convenient system of writing is taken when the symbols are used to represent not syllables but elementary sounds of the human voice. Then the symbols become true letters, a complete collection of which is called an alphabet, and the mode of writing alphabetic.

When and where the final step was taken we do not know.

But as early as the ninth century B.C. we find several Semitic peoples in possession of an alphabet.⁹ Through the agency of Phœnician and other traders this so-called Semitic alphabet was spread east and west, and became the parent of most of the existing alphabets of the world (sec. 93).

With the invention of phonetic writing and the practice of keeping records, with names of actors and dates of events, the truly historic age for man begins.

13. The Great Bequest. — We of this twentieth century esteem ourselves fortunate in being the heirs of a noble heritage, — the inheritors of the precious accumulations of all the past centuries of history. We are not used to thinking of the men of the first generation of historic times as also the heirs of a great legacy. But even the scanty review we have made of what was discovered, invented, and thought out by man during the unmeasured epochs before history began cannot fail to have impressed us with the fact that a vast estate was transmitted by prehistoric to historic man.

If our hasty glance at those far-away times has done nothing more than this, then we shall never again regard history quite as may have been our wont. We shall see everything in a new light. We shall see the story of man to be more wonderful than we once thought, the path which he has followed to be longer and more toilsome than we ever imagined.

But our interest in the traveler will have been deepened through our knowing more of his origin, of his early hard and narrow life, and of his first painful steps in the path of civilization. We shall follow with deeper interest and sympathy this wonderful being, child of earth and child of heaven, this heir of all the ages, as he journeys on and upward with his face toward the light.

⁹ Our earliest inscriptions in the North Semitic alphabet date from the ninth century B.C.; but they show unmistakably that this script had then been in use for a considerable time. We probably possess South Arabian inscriptions written already in the fourteenth century B.C. While some scholars regard the Southern alphabet as a modification of the Northern, others consider both as independent adaptations of an earlier alphabetic script and are inclined to look to some of the *Ægeo-Cretan* systems of writing for a clue to the origin of the alphabet.

References.—KEARY,¹⁰ *The Dawn of History*. STARR, *Some First Steps in Human Progress*. TYLOR, *Anthropology*, chaps. iv and vi, "Language" and "Writing"; and *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols. LUBBOCK, *Prehistoric Times*. MASON, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. DE LUCE, *Work and Workers Long Ago: An Introduction to the Study of History* (announced for the fall of 1904). A special aim of this work is to illustrate and unfold in a way which will appeal to young readers the several subjects touched upon in this chapter. JOLY, *Man before Metals*. DAWKINS, *Early Man in Britain*. HOERNES, *Primitive Man*. SHALER, *Domesticated Animals*. HOFFMANN, *The Beginnings of Writing*. CLODD, *The Story of the Alphabet*. TAYLOR, *The Alphabet*, 2 vols. Parts of this work are antiquated; the theory of the Egyptian origin of the alphabet is now discredited.

Topics for Special Study.—1. The relation of domesticated animals to man's progress in civilization. See especially *Shaler*. 2. The Age of Bronze. 3. Pottery as an element and index of civilization. 4. The origin of writing. See particularly *Hoffmann*, *Clodd*, and *Mallery*—the last in "Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1888-1889" (Smithsonian Reports).

¹⁰ For full names of authors and for further information concerning works cited, see list at end of book.

CHAPTER II

RACES AND GROUPS OF PEOPLES AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

14. Subdivisions of the Historic Age. — We begin now our study of the historic age, — a record of about seven thousand years. The story of these millenniums is usually divided into three parts, — Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Ancient History begins, as already indicated, with the earliest nations of which we can gain any certain knowledge through written records, and extends to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, A.D. 476. Mediæval History embraces the period, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, A.D. 1492. Modern History commences with the close of the mediæval period and extends to the present time.¹

It is Ancient History alone with which we shall be concerned in the present volume.

15. The Races of Mankind in the Historic Period. — Distinctions in bodily characteristics, such as form, color, and features, divide the human species into three chief types or races, known as the Black or Ethiopian Race, the Yellow or Mongolian Race, and the White or Caucasian Race.² But we must not suppose each of these three types to be sharply marked off from the others; they shade into one another by insensible gradations.

¹ It is thought preferable by some scholars to let the beginning of the great Teutonic migration (A.D. 376) or the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne (A.D. 800) mark the end of the period of ancient history. Some also prefer to date the beginning of the modern period from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453); while still others speak of it in a general way as commencing about the close of the fifteenth century, at which time there were many inventions and discoveries, and a great stir in the intellectual world.

² Some ethnologists reckon a greater number of types or races. The classification given is simply a convenient and practical one (see Table, p. 19).





We assume the original unity of the human race. It is probable that the physical and mental differences of existing races arose through their progenitors having been subjected to different climatic influences and to different conditions of life through long periods of prehistoric time.

There has been no perceptible change in the great types during the historic age. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and physiognomy.

16. The Black Race. — Africa south of the Sahara is the home of the peoples of the Black Race, but we find them on all the other continents and on many of the islands of the seas, whither they have migrated or been carried as slaves by the stronger races; for since time immemorial they have been “hewers of wood and drawers of water” for their more favored brethren.



FIG. 7. — NEGRO CAPTIVES
(From the monuments of
Thebes)

Illustrating the permanence of
race characteristics

17. The Yellow or Mongolian Race. — Eastern and Northern Asia is the central seat of the Mongolian Race. Many of the Mongolian tribes are pastoral nomads, who roam over the vast Asian plains north of the great ranges of the Himalayas; their leading part in history has been to harass peoples of settled habits.

But the most important peoples of this type are the Japanese and the Chinese. The latter constitute probably a fifth or more of the entire population of the earth. Already in times very remote this people had developed a civilization quite advanced on various lines, but having reached a certain stage in culture they did not continue to make so marked a progress. Not until recent times did either the Chinese or the Japanese become a factor of significance in world history.

18. The White Race and its Three Groups. — The so-called White Race embraces the historic nations. The chief peoples of

this division of mankind fall into three groups, — the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan³ or Indo-European. The members forming any one of these groups must not be looked upon as kindred in blood; the only certain bond uniting the peoples of each group is the bond of language.⁴

The ancient Egyptians were the chief people of the Hamitic branch. In the gray dawn of history we discover them already settled in the valley of the Nile, and there erecting great monuments so faultless in construction as to render it certain that those who planned them had had long previous training in the art of building.

The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Aramæans, and the Arabians. Most scholars regard Arabia as the original home of this family, and this peninsula certainly seems to have been the great distributing center.⁵

It is interesting to note that three great monotheistic religions — the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan — arose among peoples belonging to the Semitic family.

The Aryan-speaking peoples form the most widely dispersed group of the White Race. They include the ancient Greeks and

³ Ethnologists have ceased to use this name, as well as its equivalents, Indo-European and Indo-Germanic, as an ethnic term; but there is no reason why it should be given up by the historian. It should be carefully noted, however, that where the term Aryan is applied to a people it simply means that the people thus designated use an Aryan speech, and that it does not mean that they are related by blood to any other Aryan-speaking people. Physical or racial relationships cannot be determined by the test of language. Think of the millions of English-speaking African negroes in the United States! For a masterly discussion of the question of the ethnic types or races making up the population of Europe, see Ripley's *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1899).

⁴ In the case of the Semites and the Hamites, it is probable that the most of the peoples forming each group are in the main actually of the same ethnic stock; in the case of the Aryans, however, we certainly have to do with peoples belonging to several distinct ethnic subvarieties or types.

⁵ It is held by some, however, that the Semites at a very early time immigrated to Arabia from Africa, where they had lived in close relations to the Hamites. In successive waves they seem to have settled in the lands adjoining the Syro-Arabian desert, first the Babylonians and Assyrians, then apparently the Canaanitic and subsequently the Hebrew peoples, the Arabians and the Chaldeans, while Abyssinia clearly received its Semitic population from southwestern Arabia.

Romans, all the peoples of modern Europe (save the Basques, the Finns and the Lapps, the Magyars or Hungarians, and the Ottoman Turks), together with the Persians and the Hindus and some other Asian peoples.⁶

19. The Aryan Expansion. — Long before the dawn of history in Europe and while they were yet in the Neolithic stage of culture (sec. 6), the clans and tribes of the hitherto undivided Aryan family began to break up and to scatter.⁷

Some of these tribes in the course of their wanderings found their way into the great river plains of India and out upon the table-lands of Iran. They subjugated the aborigines of these lands and communicated to them their language. These Aryan invaders and the natives, thus Aryanized in speech and probably somewhat changed in blood, became the progenitors of the Iranians and the Hindus of history.⁸

Other clans and tribes pushed into the peninsulas of Greece and Italy, and, mingling with the peoples already settled there, founded the Greek and Italian city-states, and from the germs of culture which they carried with them, or which they found among the native populations or afterwards received from the Oriental lands, developed what is known as the Classical Civilization.

Yet other tribes of the family, either through peaceful expansion, through social relations, or through conquest, had, long before our era, made Aryan in speech almost all the remaining regions of Europe.⁹

⁶ The kinship in speech of all these peoples is most plainly shown by the similar form and meaning of certain words in their different languages, as, for example, the word *father*, which occurs with but little change in several of the Aryan tongues (Sanskrit, *pitri*; Persian, *padar*; Greek, *πατήρ*; Latin, *pater*; German, *Vater*).

⁷ Some scholars seek the early home of the primitive Aryan folk in Asia, others look for it in Europe, while still others declare the search to be wholly futile.

⁸ It is very important to note that in every case where a non-Aryan people gave up their own language and adopted that of their Aryan conquerors, there must have taken place at the same time almost necessarily a mingling of the blood of the two races. "Thus it will be correct to say that an Aryan strain permeates all or most of the groups now speaking Aryan tongues." — KEANE, *Ethnology*, p. 396 (Cambridge Geographical Series, 1896).

⁹ This prehistoric Aryan expansion can best be made plain by the use of an historical parallel, — the Roman expansion. From their cradle city on the Tiber, the

Although the Aryan expansion movement began so long ago, still we should not think of it as something past and ended. The outward movement in modern times of the Aryan-speaking peoples of Europe, that is to say, the expansion of Europe into Greater Europe and the Europeanizing of the world, is merely the continuation — and an illustration — of the Aryan expansion movement which went on in the obscurity of the prehistoric ages.

Thus we see what leading parts, after what we may call the Semitic age, Aryan-speaking peoples have borne in the great drama of history.

References. — SCHRADER, *The Prehistoric Civilization of the Aryan Peoples*. RIPLEY, *The Races of Europe*. IHERING, *The Evolution of the Aryan*. KEANE, *Man, Past and Present*. DENIKER, *The Races of Man*. SERGI, *The Mediterranean Race*. RATZEL, *The History of Mankind*, 2 vols. All these works are for the teacher and the advanced student. BRINTON, *Races and Peoples*; and TAYLOR, *The Origin of the Aryans*, can be used by younger readers.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Causes of physical and mental differences between races. See *Brinton*. 2. The Aryans. See *Taylor*.

ancient Romans — a folk Aryan in speech if not in race — went out as conquerors and colonizers of the Mediterranean world. Wherever they went they carried their language and their civilization with them. Many of the peoples whom they subjected gave up their own speech, and along with the civilization of their conquerors adopted also their language. In this way a large part of the ancient world became Romanized in speech and culture. When the Roman Empire broke up, there arose a number of Latin-speaking nations, — among these, the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese. During the modern age these Romanized nations, through conquest and colonization, have spread their Latin speech and civilization over a great part of the New World. Thus it has come about that to-day the language of the ancient Romans, differentiated into many dialects, is spoken by peoples spread over the earth from Rumania in Eastern Europe to Chile in South America. All these peoples we call Latins, not because they are all descended from the ancient Romans, — in fact they belong to many different ethnic stocks, — but because they all speak languages derived from the old Roman speech. Just as we use the term Latin here, so do we use the term Aryan in connection with the Aryan-speaking peoples.

A WORKING CLASSIFICATION OF THE PRINCIPAL RACES AND PEOPLES

The larger divisions (races) are based on physical characteristics, the smaller
on language.

BLACK RACE (Ethiopian or Negro)	{	Tribes and peoples whose true home is Central and Southern Africa.	
YELLOW RACE (Mongolian or "Turanian")	{	(1) The Chinese, Japanese, and kindred peoples of Eastern Asia; (2) the nomads (Tartars, Mongols, etc.) of Northern and Central Asia and of Eastern Russia; (3) the Turks, the Magyars, or Hungarians, the Finns and Lapps, and the Basques, in Europe.	
WHITE RACE (Caucasian)	{	Hamites	{ Egyptians, Libyans (modern Berbers).
		Semites	{ Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, Aramæans, Arabians.
	{	Asiatics	{ Hindus, Medes, Persians.
		Classical peoples	{ Greeks, Romans.
		Aryans, or Indo-Eu- ropeans	{ Celts { Gauls, Britons, Scots (Irish), Picts.
		Teutons	{ Germans, English, Scandinavians.
		Slavs	{ Russians, Poles, etc.

The Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Bretons of Brittany (anciently Armorica), in France, are the present representatives of the ancient Celts. For something concerning the formation of the modern Latin and Teutonic or Germanic nations, see Chapters LI and LIII.



FIG. 8. — EGYPTIAN SCENE

PART I—THE EASTERN NATIONS

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT EGYPT

(From about 5000 to 30 B.C.)

I. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

20. Egypt and the Nile. — The Egypt of history comprises the delta of the Nile and the flood plains of its lower course. These rich lands were formed in past geologic ages from the sediment brought down by the river in seasons of flood. The delta was known to the ancients as Lower Egypt, while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the delta to the First Cataract,¹ a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized ;² hence the Greek

¹ About seven hundred miles from the Mediterranean low ledges of rocks stretching across the Nile form the first obstruction to navigation in passing up the river. The rapids found here are termed the First Cataract. At this point the divided river forms the beautiful islet of Philæ, "The Pearl of Egypt."

² The rate of the fluvatile deposit is from three to five inches in a century. The surface of the valley at Thebes, as shown by the accumulations about the monuments, has been raised about seven feet during the last seventeen hundred years.



historian Herodotus, in a happy phrase, called the country "the gift of the Nile." Swollen by heavy tropical rains and the melting snows of the mountains about its sources, the Nile begins to rise in its lower parts late in June, and towards the first of October, when the inundation has attained its greatest height, the country presents the appearance of a turbid sea.



FIG. 9.—PLOWING AND SOWING
(From a papyrus)

By the end of November the river has returned to its bed, leaving the fields covered with a film of rich earth. At the present day the plow is usually run lightly over the soft surface, but in the earliest times the grain was often sown upon the undisturbed deposit, and trampled in by flocks of sheep and goats driven over the fields. In a few weeks after the sowing, the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is overspread with a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast to the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

21. Climate and Products.—In Lower Egypt, near the sea, the rainfall in the winter is abundant; but the climate of Upper Egypt is all but rainless, only a few slight showers, as a rule, falling



FIG. 10.—REAPING THE GRAIN
(From a papyrus)

throughout the year.⁸ This dryness of the Egyptian air is what has preserved through so many thousand years, in such wonderful freshness of color and with such sharpness of outline, the numerous paintings and sculptures of the monuments of the country.

⁸ At irregular intervals of a few years, however, there occurs a real cloud-burst, and the mud-built villages of the natives are literally half dissolved and washed into the river.

The southern line of Egypt only just touches the tropics ; still the climate, influenced by the wide and hot deserts that hem the valley, is semi-tropical in character. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow luxuriantly. Thus favored in climate as well as in the matter of irrigation, Egypt became in early times the granary of the East. To its less favored countries, when stricken by famine, — a calamity so common in the East in regions dependent upon the rainfall, — looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

22. The Prehistoric Age in Egypt (from an unknown antiquity to about 5000 B.C.).—Traces of man's existence in the Nile valley during the Paleolithic period have been found in several places, while in numerous localities in all parts of Egypt south of the delta, implements belonging to the Neolithic time have been discovered. Our knowledge of the people inhabiting the country in prehistoric times has thus been greatly increased in recent years. They dressed in skins, lived in mud or reed huts, and hunted the wild animals which inhabited the forests that in those distant times covered the river plains and the now desert plateaus bordering the valley.⁴ These aboriginal folk seem to have been of Hamitic stock, being apparently an offshoot of the ancient Libyan race.

About 5000 B.C. there seems to have come into the valley a new people from the region of the Red Sea. These immigrants are believed to have come from some East African or South Arabian territory that had been under the influence of the culture which had already sprung up in the Babylonian plains. They may have brought with them, as has been supposed, implements of copper and bronze, some of the cereals, oxen, sheep and goats, a knowledge of the use of bricks for building material, a system of writing, and other elements of civilization. It is thought by some scholars that the historic Egyptians arose from the union of these invaders with the earlier settlers, while by other Egyptologists it is maintained that there never was any essential change in the Hamitic character of this people.

⁴ The petrified remains of these forests, like the fossilized forests of Arizona in our own country, now lie strewn in places over the desert. One of these mummified forests is easily visited from the modern city of Cairo.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

23. The Thirty-One Dynasties; the Old, the Middle, and the New Empire. — The Pharaohs, or kings, that reigned in Egypt from Menes till the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) are grouped into thirty-one dynasties. Thirty of these we find in the lists of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., and who compiled in the Greek language a chronicle of the kings of the country from the manuscripts kept in the Egyptian temples.

The first ten of these dynasties comprise what is known to Egyptologists as the Old Empire; the next seven cover the period of the so-called Middle Empire; and the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth what is designated as the New Empire. The remaining dynasties represent mainly the rule of foreigners or conquerors. The history of these thirty-one dynasties covers a period of upwards of four thousand years. Three millenniums of this history lie back of the beginning of the historic age in Greece and Italy.

24. Menes, and the First Three Dynasties (about 4500-3700 B.C.). — Menes was the founder of the so-called First Dynasty.

⁵ Found by Flinders Petrie at Abydos in 1903. "Clad in his thick embroidered robes, this old king, wily yet feeble with the weight of years, stands for the diplomacy and statecraft of the oldest civilized kingdom that we know" (Petrie).



FIG. II. — IVORY STATUETTE OF A KING OF THE FIRST DYNASTY ⁵
(From Petrie's *Abydos*, Part II)

Tradition represents him as the builder of the great city of Memphis, near the head of the delta, and the constructor of vast engineering and irrigation works in that region. What is believed to be his tomb has been recently discovered (in 1897).

Since 1894 there have also been found monuments of other Pharaohs of the First Dynasty, besides various interesting memorials of the rulers of the two following dynasties.

Thus slowly is the material for the history of these remote times being accumulated.⁶

25. The Fourth Dynasty: the Pyramid Kings

(about 3700–3550 B.C.). — The kings of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis, are called the pyramid builders. Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks, was the greatest of these rulers. He built the Great Pyramid, at Gizeh, — “the greatest mass of masonry that has ever been put together by mortal man.”⁷

A recent fortunate discovery⁸ enables us now to look upon the face of this Cheops (Fig. 13), one of the earliest and most renowned

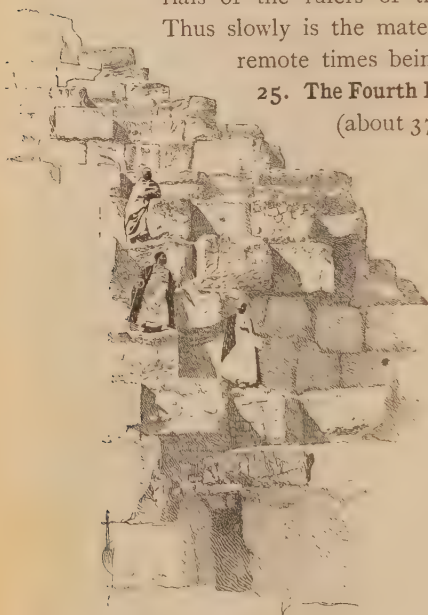


FIG. 12. — A DETAIL OF THE GREAT PYRAMID
(From a photograph)

⁶ Recently the monuments of a number of kings who reigned in Egypt before Menes have been discovered.

Some of these kings are known to have ruled over the lower as well as the upper country. Menes was formerly believed to have been the first king of all Egypt. The story of these earlier kings, as it may hereafter be learned from the monuments, must be called predynastic history.

⁷ This pyramid rises from a base covering thirteen acres to a height of four hundred and fifty feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed one hundred thousand men for twenty years in its erection.

⁸ Made by Flinders Petrie at Abydos. Read his article entitled “The Ten Temples of Abydos,” in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1903.



PLATE II.—THE GREAT SPHINX AND THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH. (From a photograph)

personages of the ancient world. "The first thing that strikes us," writes Professor Flinders Petrie, "is the enormous driving-power of the man, the ruling nature which it seems impossible to resist, the determination which is above all constraint and all opposition. As far as force of will goes, the strongest characters in history would look pliable in this presence. . . . There is no face quite parallel to this in all the portraits that we know, — Egyptian, Greek, Roman, or modern."

To some king of this same family of pyramid builders is also ascribed, by some authorities, the sculpture of the gigantic human-headed Sphinx at the foot of the Great Pyramid.

These sepulchral monuments, for the

pyramids were the tombs of the Pharaohs who constructed them (sec. 40), and the great Sphinx are the most venerable memorials of the early world that have been preserved to us. Although standing so far back in the gray dawn of the historic morning, they mark not the beginning but in some respects the perfection of Egyptian art. They speak of long periods of human life, of ages of growth and experience, lying behind the era they represent. It is this vast and mysterious background that impresses us even more than these giant forms cast up against it.



FIG. 13. — KHUFU, BUILDER OF THE
GREAT PYRAMID
(From Petrie's *Abidos*, Part II)

26. The Twelfth Dynasty (about 2500–2300 B.C.). — After the Sixth Dynasty Egypt for several centuries is almost lost from view. When finally the valley emerges from the obscurity of this period, the old capital Memphis has receded into the background and the city of Thebes has taken its place as the seat of the royal power.

The period of the Twelfth Dynasty, a line of Theban kings, is one of the brightest in Egyptian history. It has been called Egypt's



FIG. 14. — THE "SHEIKH-EL-BELED." (Gizeh Museum)

Supposed portrait statue of one of the overseers of the work on the Great Pyramid. This is one of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture

Golden Age. One of the most notable achievements of the period was the improvement made by one of the kings in the irrigation of the Fayum from Lake Mœris (see map, p. 20). This was an immense reservoir — one of the most important irrigation works of the Pharaohs — for storing the surplus waters of the Nile at the time of the annual inundation. The lake was formed by the Nile flowing into a depression in the desert west of Memphis.

27. The Hyksos or Shepherd Kings (about 1985 — 1575 B.C.). —

Soon after the bright period of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt again suffered a great eclipse. Nomadic tribes from Asia pressed across the eastern frontier of Egypt and gradually took possession of the inviting pasture lands of the delta, and established there the empire of the Shepherd Kings.

These Asiatic intruders were violent and barbarous, and destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the country. But gradually they were transformed by the civilization with which they were in contact, and in time they adopted the manners and culture of the Egyptians. It is thought by some scholars that it was during the supremacy of the Hyksos that the families of Israel found a refuge in Lower Egypt.

At last these intruders, after they had ruled in the valley more than four centuries, were expelled by the Theban kings and driven back into Asia.

Various elements of the civilization which had long been developing independently in the Asian lands were introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. Among these elements we may quite safely include the horse and the war chariot, since these now appear for the first time upon the monuments of the country. From this period forward the war chariot holds a place of first importance in the armaments of the Pharaohs.

28. The Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1575-1359 B.C.); **Thothmes III.** — The long struggle known as the War of Independence waged by the native Egyptian kings against the Hyksos intruders was brought to an end by a brave young Theban prince named Aahmes. He was the first sovereign of what is known as the Eighteenth Dynasty. The most eventful period of Egyptian history, covered by what is called the New Empire, now opens. Architecture and learning seem to have recovered at a bound from their long depression under the domination of the Shepherd Kings.

To free his empire from the danger of another invasion from Asia, Aahmes determined to subdue the Syrian and Mesopotamian tribes. This foreign policy, followed out by his successors, shaped many of the events of their reigns. It brought Egypt into her first conflict with a civilized power, for already in the valley of the Euphrates there had arisen a civilization rivaling that of the Pharaohs, and the great kings of Babylon had extended their influence and their authority westward to the Mediterranean (sec. 48), and thus were injured by the intrusion of the Egyptians into the Syrian lands.⁹

Thothmes III (about 1500-1450 B.C.), one of the greatest kings of this Eighteenth Dynasty, has been called "the Alexander of Egyptian history." During his reign the frontiers of the empire

⁹ "Her [Egypt's] sudden appearance in the heart of Syria gave a new turn to human history. The isolation of the ancient world was at an end; the conflict of the nations was about to begin." — MASPERO, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 108.

reached their greatest expansion. His authority extended from the oases of the Libyan desert to beyond the Euphrates.

Thothmes was also a magnificent builder. His architectural works in the valley of the Nile were almost numberless. He built a great part of the Temple of Karnak, at Thebes, the remains of which form the most majestic ruin in the world. His obelisks stand to-day in Constantinople, in Rome, in London, and in New York.

It was a Pharaoh of this Eighteenth Dynasty that set up the celebrated colossi at Thebes, one of which, under the name of the "Vocal Memnon,"¹⁰ acquired a wide reputation among the later Greeks and Romans.¹¹

29. The Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1359-1253 B.C.).—The Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty rival those of the Eighteenth in their fame as conquerors and builders. It is their deeds and works, in connection with those of the preceding dynasty, that have given Egypt such a name and place in history.

The two greatest names of this period are those of Seti I (about 1356-1347 B.C.) and Rameses II (about 1347-1280 B.C.). Seti was a great warrior. One of the most important of his campaigns was that against the Hittites (*Khita* in the inscriptions) and

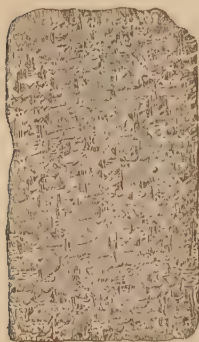


FIG. 15. — TELL EL
AMARNA LETTER
(After Hilprecht)

¹⁰ When the rays of the morning sun fell upon the colossus it emitted low musical tones, which the Egyptians believed to be the greeting of the statue to the rising day.

¹¹ The name of one of the sovereigns of this Eighteenth Dynasty (the "heretic king" Amenhotep IV, or Akhenaten, 1403-1385 B.C.) is connected with one of the most interesting and important discoveries ever made on Oriental ground. This was the discovery in 1887, at Tell el Amarna, on the Nile, of several hundred letters, written in the Babylonian language and script and comprising the correspondence, not only between the reigning Pharaoh and the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, but also between the Egyptian court and the Egyptian governors and vassal kings of various Syrian towns. The significance of this discovery consists in the revelation it

makes of the deep hold that the civilization of Babylon had upon the Syrian lands centuries before the Hebrew invasion of Palestine.



PLATE III. — FAÇADE OF ROCK TEMPLE AT IPSAMBUL. (From a photograph)

their allies. The Hittites were a powerful non-Semitic people, whose capital was Carchemish on the Euphrates, and whose strength and influence were now so great as to be a threat to Egyptian dominion in Syria.¹² Marching against these formidable enemies, Seti overcame their army with great slaughter, and returned to Egypt with his chariot, after the custom of those times, adorned with the heads of several of their chiefs.

But Seti's deeds as a warrior are eclipsed by his achievements as a builder. He constructed the main part of what is perhaps the most impressive edifice ever raised by man — the world-renowned Hall of Columns in the Temple of Karnak, at Thebes.

Rameses II, surnamed the Great, was the Sesostris of the Greeks. Ancient writers accorded him the first place among all the Egyptian sovereigns, and told most exaggerated stories of his conquests and achievements. His long reign, embracing sixty-seven years, was indeed well occupied with military expeditions and the superintendence of great architectural works.

The chief of his wars were those against the Hittites, of whom we have just spoken. Time and again is Rameses found with his host of war chariots in the country of this people, but he evidently failed to break their power; for we find him at last concluding with them a celebrated treaty. In this treaty the chief of the Hittites is called "The Great King of the Khita," and is formally recognized as in every respect the equal of the king of Egypt.

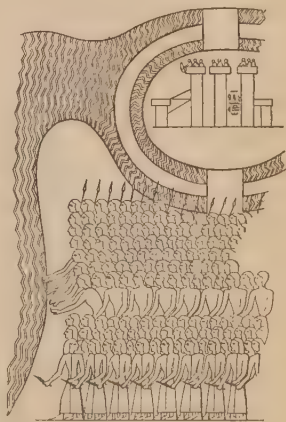


FIG. 16. — PHALANX OF THE KHITA

In the background, town protected by walls and moats

¹² We know very little about this people, save that for several centuries they divided with Egypt and Assyria the dominion of Western Asia. They had a system of hieroglyphic writing and left some inscriptions, but these have not yet been deciphered.

The alliance was cemented by the marriage of a daughter of the Hittite king to Rameses.

All this means that the Pharaohs had met their peers in the princes of the Hittites, and that they could no longer hope to become masters of Western Asia. Indeed, the empire of the Pharaohs had already passed its culmination, and all Rameses' efforts were directed to upholding the fortunes of a declining state.

It is the opinion of some scholars that this Rameses II was the oppressor of the children of Israel, the Pharaoh who "made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all



FIG. 17. — RAMESES II CHARGING THE FOE

manner of service in the field" (Ex. i. 14), and that what is known as the Exodus took place in the reign of his son, Menephtha¹⁸ (about 1275 B.C.).

30. The Twenty-Sixth Dynasty ; Psammetichus I (about 663–610 B.C.) and **Necho II** (610–594 B.C.). — We pass without comment a long period of several centuries, marked, indeed, by great vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Egyptian monarchs, yet

¹⁸ In a recently discovered inscription Menephtha mentions among other Palestinian peoples Israel as having been made desolate and left without grain. (This is the only reference to Israel on any Egyptian monument.) The inference which some scholars draw from this is that this people had already settled down to agricultural life in Syria at the time of Menephth ; while others reconcile the inscription with the Hebrew records by supposing that when the great immigration into Lower Egypt took place a part of the tribe or tribes of Israel remained behind in Syria.



THE SIXTH CATARACT OF THE NILE

characterized throughout by a sure and rapid decline in the power and splendor of their empire. During the latter part of this period Egypt was tributary to Ethiopia or to Assyria; but a native prince, Psammetichus by name, with the aid of Greek mercenaries, drove out the foreign garrisons. Psammetichus thus became the founder of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (about 663 B.C.).

The reign of this monarch marks a new era in Egyptian history. Hitherto Egypt had secluded herself from the world behind barriers of race jealousy and pride. But Psammetichus being himself, it seems, of non-Egyptian origin, and owing his throne chiefly to the swords of Greek soldiers, was led to reverse the policy of the past, and to throw the valley open to the commerce and

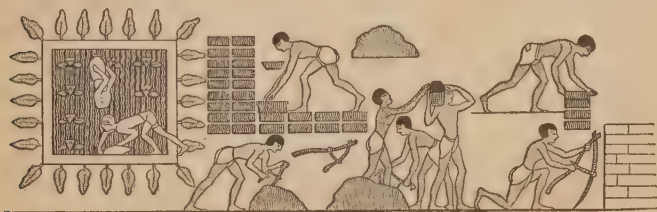


FIG. 18. — BRICK-MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT. (From Thebes)

influences of the world. His capital, Saïs, in the delta region, was filled with Greek citizens, and Greek mercenaries were employed in his armies.

This change of policy, occurring at just the period when the Greeks were coming prominently forward to play their great part in history, was a most significant event. Egypt became the instructor of this younger race. From this time on Greek philosophers are represented as becoming pupils of the Egyptian priests; and without question the learning and philosophy of the old Egyptians exercised a profound influence upon the open, receptive mind of the Greek race, that was, in its turn, to become the teacher of the world.

The son of Psammetichus, Necho II (610-594 B.C.), followed the liberal policy marked out by his father. In order to be able to bring together at any time his war ships either in the Red Sea or

in the Mediterranean, he attempted to reopen an old canal uniting the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been dug by earlier Pharaohs, but had now become unnavigable. Failing in this undertaking, he fitted out an exploring expedition for the circumnavigation of Africa, in hopes of finding a natural water way connecting the two seas.

The expedition, we have reason to believe, actually accomplished the feat of sailing around the continent; for the historian Herodotus, in his account of the enterprise, says that the voyagers upon their return reported that, when they were rounding the cape, the sun was on their right hand (to the north). This feature of the report, which led Herodotus to disbelieve it, is to us the very strongest evidence possible that the voyage was really performed.

31. The Last of the Pharaohs.—Before the end of Necho's reign Egypt became tributary to Babylon, and a little later bowed beneath the Persian yoke (sec. 97). Regaining her independence, she soon lost it again. From about the middle of the fourth century B.C. to the present day no native prince has sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

Upon the extension of the power of the Macedonians and the Greeks over the East through the conquests of Alexander the Great (Chapter XXVI), Egypt willingly accepted them as masters; and for three centuries the valley was the seat of the renowned Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies. The Romans finally annexed the region to their all-absorbing empire (30 B.C.).

"The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civilization in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to other peoples of the West."

III. RELIGION, ARTS, AND GENERAL CULTURE

32. Classes of Society.—Egyptian society was divided into three chief classes,¹⁴—priests, soldiers, and common people; the last embracing shepherds, husbandmen, shopkeepers, and artisans.

¹⁴ These divisions are more properly designated as classes than castes; for the characteristic features of the latter, as existing among the Hindus (sec. 105), are that the members "must abstain from certain forbidden occupations, contract no

The sacerdotal order consisted of high priests, prophets, scribes, keepers of the sacred robes and animals, sacred sculptors, masons, and embalmers. They enjoyed freedom from taxation, and met the expenses of the temple service mainly from the income of the sacred lands, which are said to have embraced one third of the soil of the country.

The priests were extremely scrupulous in the care of their persons. They bathed twice by day and twice by night, and shaved the entire body every third day. Their inner clothing was linen, woolen garments being thought unclean; their diet was plain and even abstemious, in order that, as an old Greek writer explains, "their bodies might sit light as possible about their souls."

Next to the priesthood in rank and honor stood the military order. Like the priests, the soldiers formed a landed class. To each soldier was given a tract of about eight acres, exempt from all taxes. When not in actual service he worked on his little plot of land.

33. The Egyptian System of Writing. — Perhaps the greatest achievement of the ancient Egyptians was the working out of a system of writing. By the opening of the fifth millennium B.C.

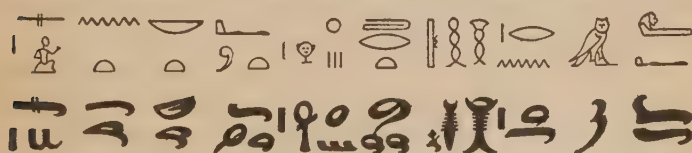


FIG. 19. — FORMS OF EGYPTIAN WRITING. (After Hommel)

The top line is hieroglyphic script; the bottom line is the same text in hieratic

this system had passed through all the stages which we have already indicated as marking the usual development of a written language (sec. 12). But the curious thing about the system was this: when an improved method of writing had been worked out

alliance beyond the limits of the caste, and must continue to practice the profession of their fathers"; whereas among the Egyptians there were no such restrictions laid upon the two principal classes. The priest might become a soldier, and the soldier a priest, or the same person might be both at once.

the old method was not discarded. Hence the Egyptian writing was partly picture writing and partly alphabetic writing, and exhibited besides all the intermediate forms. The Egyptians, as has been said, had developed an alphabet without knowing it.

Just as we have two forms of letters, one for printing and another for writing, so the Egyptians employed three forms of script: the *hieroglyphic*, in which the pictures and symbols were carefully drawn, — a form generally employed in monumental inscriptions; the *hieratic*, a simplified form of the hieroglyphic, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and the *demotic* or *enchorial*, a still further simplification of the hieratic form.

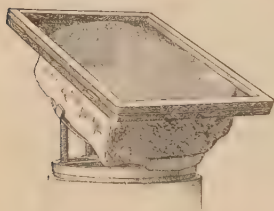


FIG. 20. — THE ROSETTA
STONE

34. The Rosetta Stone and the Key to Egyptian Writing. — The key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, which was found by the French when they invaded Egypt under Napoleon in 1798. This precious relic, a heavy block of

black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds an inscription in the Egyptian and the Greek language, which is written in three different forms of script, — in the Egyptian hieroglyphic and demotic and in Greek characters. The chief credit of deciphering the Egyptian script and of opening up the long-sealed libraries of Egyptian learning is commonly allotted to the French scholar Champollion.¹⁵

35. Egyptian Literature. — The literature opened up to us by the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is varied and instructive, revealing as it does the life and thought and scientific

¹⁵ The value of a number of demotic signs was discovered by Akerblad (1802). In the hieroglyphic text the English scholar Young recognized the name of Ptolemy (Ptolemaios, Ptolmis) and succeeded in deciphering this peculiar script (1818). Champollion verified the values assigned to some symbols by a comparison of the Rosetta inscription with another hieroglyphic and Greek inscription found on the island of Philæ (1822). But his greatest merit consists in having determined the character of the Egyptian language as the mother of the Coptic, with which he was thoroughly familiar.

attainments of old Egypt at a time when the Greek world was yet young. There is the ancient *Book of the Dead*,¹⁶ intended for the use and instruction of the soul in its perilous journey to the realms of the blessed in the nether world; there are novels or romances, and fairy tales, among which are "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper," and a story written expressly for the amusement of the little son of Rameses II; autobiographies, public and

private letters, fables, and epics; treatises on medicine, astronomy, and various other scientific subjects; and books on history—in prose and in verse—which fully justify the declaration of Egyptian priests to the Greek philosopher Solon:

"You Greeks are mere children, talkative and vain; you know nothing at all of the past."

36. The Egyptian Gods.—It has been said of man that he is "incurably religious." This could certainly be said of the ancient Egyptians. Their thoughts seem to have dwelt much on the gods and on the future life.

The ideas of God held by the learned among the Egyptians were, according to the Egyptologist Budge, almost the same as

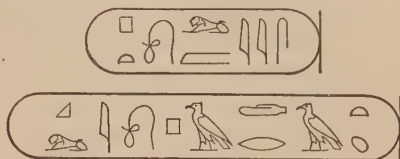


FIG. 21.—TWO ROYAL NAMES IN HIEROGLYPHICS

It was the first of these names which gave the clew to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic script. Through a comparison of the two the values of several symbols were definitely determined¹⁷

¹⁶ The chief writing material used by the ancient Egyptians was the noted papyrus paper, manufactured from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water channels of the Nile. From the names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* and *papyrus*, come our words "Bible" and "paper."

¹⁷ The twelve hieroglyphics used in writing these names have the following values:

Δ K, 𐀀 L, 𐀁 E, 𐀂 O, 𐀃 P, 𐀄 A, 𐀅 or 𐀆 T,
 𐀇 R, 𐀈 M, 𐀉 I (AD), 𐀊 S.

With these the reader will easily decipher the names. It should be noted that the last two signs in the longer word are used merely to indicate that the word is a feminine proper name, and that for the sake of symmetry one symbol is sometimes placed beneath another. The upper sign should be taken first.

those of the Hebrew teachers of a later time. The inscriptions read: "God is a spirit and no man hath known his form; He is the one living and true God; He has existed from the beginning, and He is life; He is the creator of the heavens and the earth, and all that therein is."

But while entertaining such lofty views of the Supreme God, the Egyptian thinkers never came, as did the later Hebrews, to hold the idea that there is only one God beside whom there is no other. From first to last the Egyptians were polytheists, that is, worshipers of many gods.

These divinities were often grouped in triads. First in importance among these groups was that formed by Osiris, Isis (his wife and sister), and Horus, their son. The members of this triad were worshiped throughout Egypt.

The god Set, called Typhon by the Greek writers, was the Satan of Egyptian mythology. While the beneficent Osiris was symbolized by the life-giving Nile, the malignant Typhon was emblemized by the terrors and barrenness of the desert.

37. Animal Worship. — The Egyptians regarded certain animals as emblems of the gods, and hence worshiped them. To



FIG. 22. — MUMMY OF A SACRED BULL
(From a photograph)

kill one of these sacred animals was adjudged the greatest impiety. Persons so unfortunate as to harm one through accident were sometimes murdered by the infuriated people. The scarab or beetle was especially sacred, being considered an emblem of life.

Not only were various animals held sacred, as being the emblems of certain deities, but some were thought to be real gods. Thus the soul of Osiris, it was imagined, animated the body of some bull, which might be known from certain spots and markings.

Upon the death of the sacred bull or Apis, as he was called, a great search, accompanied with loud lamentation, was made throughout the land for his successor; for the moment the soul of Osiris departed from the dying bull it entered a calf that moment born. The body of the deceased Apis was carefully embalmed, and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, deposited in the tomb of his predecessors.¹⁸

Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of such a debased form of worship among so cultured a people as the ancient Egyptians. There can be little doubt that the religious system of Egypt arose from a mingling of the religions of the two races which seemed to have united to form the Egyptians of history (sec. 22), and that the low elements in it were nothing more nor less than the ideas, beliefs, and practices of the older prehistoric race of the Nile valley.

38. The Egyptian Doctrine of a Future Life.—The most fruitful of the religious ideas of the ancient Egyptians, the one of greatest import for their own history and for that of the world, was their doctrine of a future life. Among no other people of antiquity did the life beyond the tomb seem so real and hold so large a place in the thoughts of the living as among the people of old Egypt.

It is difficult to give an account of this belief for the reason that there were different forms of it held at different times and in different places. But the essential part of the belief was that man has a double or soul which survives the death of the body.

This belief in a future life, taken in connection with certain ideas respecting the nature of the soul's existence in the other world and of its needs, reacted in a remarkable way upon the earthly life of the people of ancient Egypt. It was the cause and motive of many of the things they did.

39. The Embalmment of the Body.—The first need of the soul was the possession of the old body, upon the preservation of

¹⁸ In 1851 Mariette discovered this sepulchral chamber of the sacred bulls (the Serapeum). It is a narrow gallery two thousand feet in length cut in the limestone cliffs just opposite the site of ancient Memphis. A large number of immense granite coffins and several mummified bulls were found.

which the existence of the soul depended. If the body should waste away, the double, it was believed, would waste away with it.¹⁹ Hence the anxious care with which the Egyptians sought to preserve the body against decay by embalming it.

In the various processes of embalming, use was made of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen. To a body thus treated is applied the term mummy.

As this method of embalming was very costly, the bodies of the poorer classes were simply "salted and dried," and wrapped in coarse mats, preparatory to burial. It is estimated that from



FIG. 23.—PROFILE OF RAMESSES II. (From a photograph of the mummy)

the time of Menes to the opening of the Christian era 200,000,000 mummies were laid in the earth in Upper Egypt alone.

To this practice of the Egyptians of embalming their dead we owe it that we can look upon the actual faces of many of the ancient Pharaohs. Towards the close of the last century (in 1881) the mummies of Thothmes III, Seti I, Rameses II, and those of about forty other kings, queens, princes, and priests, embracing nearly all the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth,

Twentieth, and Twenty-First Dynasties, were found in a secret rock chamber near Thebes. The faces of Seti and Rameses, both strong faces, are so remarkably preserved that, in the words of Maspero, "were their subjects to return to the earth to-day they could not fail to recognize their old sovereigns."

¹⁹ This is Maspero's view. Wiedemann's is somewhat different. "The destruction of the mummy," he says, "did not involve the destruction of the soul, but it narrowed the soul's circle of activity and limited its means of transmigration" (*The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p. 68).

40. The Pyramids as Sepulchers; the Rock-Hewn Tombs. —

The same belief which led to the embalmment of the body led also to the construction of secure and magnificent tombs. Upon the temporary homes of the living the Egyptians bestowed little care, but upon the "eternal abodes" of the dead they lavished unstinted labor and cost.

The tombs of the official class and of the rich were sometimes structures of brick or stone, but more generally they were chambers cut in the limestone cliffs that rim the Nile valley.

The bodies of the earlier Pharaohs were hidden away in the heart of great mountains of stone — the pyramids. Many of the later Pharaohs constructed for themselves magnificent rock-cut tombs, some of which are perfect labyrinths of corridors, halls, and chambers. In the hills back of Thebes, in the so-called Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, there are so many of these royal sepulchers that the place has been called the "Westminster Abbey of Egypt."

41. The "Accompanying Gifts" or the "Dowery of the Dead." —

We have seen that the first need of the soul was the preservation of the old body. Along with the mummy there were often placed

in the tomb a number of wood, clay, or gold portrait statuettes of the deceased. The lid of the coffin was also carved in the form of a mummy. The idea here was that, if

through any accident the body were destroyed, the soul might avail itself of these substitutes. It was the effort put forth by the artist to make these portrait images and carvings lifelike that contributed to bring early Egyptian sculpture to such a high degree of excellence.

But not all the wants of the soul were met by the mummy and the substitute portrait images. It had need also of food and drink, and of everything else that the deceased had needed while on earth. Hence all these things were put into the tomb. But

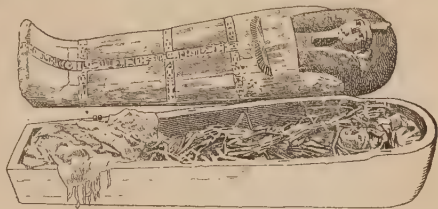


FIG. 24. — MUMMY CASE WITH MUMMY

as it was only the spirit or double of the things thus set out which the soul could make use of,²⁰ it came to be believed that a picture or an inexpensive model in wood or clay of these objects would serve just as well as the actual objects themselves.

Thus the pictures of different kinds of food and drink supplied the soul with "an unsubstantial yet satisfying repast"; the rep-



FIG. 25. — "SERVANT FOR THE UNDER-WORLD."²¹ (After Wiedemann)

resentation of a vineyard provided it with a vineyard in the Osirian land; the picture of a hunting scene afforded it the diversion of the chase; and the picture of a boat made possible a pleasure sail on the celestial Nile.

It was this belief which covered the walls of the Egyptian tombs with those bas-reliefs and paintings which have converted for us these chambers of the dead into picture galleries where the Egypt of the Pharaohs rises again into life before our eyes.

42. The Judgment of the Dead and the Negative Confession. — Death was a great equalizer among the Egyptians; king and peasant alike must appear before the dread

tribunal of Osiris and render an account of the deeds done in the body. Here the soul sought justification in such declarations as these, which form what is called the Negative Confession: "I have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain any one treacherously"; "I have not slandered any one or made false accusation"; "I have not reviled the face of my father"; "I have not eaten my heart through with envy."²²

²⁰ Compare the thought of the savage who breaks the bow or other weapon placed in the grave with the body of its former owner, in order that its spirit may be released.

²¹ A statuette of a workman placed in the tomb along with the mummy. It was thought that the recital of certain magical formulas imparted life to the image. A number of these figures put in the tomb supplied the deceased with servants in the other world.

²² See Deut. v. 11, 19, 17, 20, 16, 21.

In other declarations of the soul we find a singularly close approach to Christian morality, as for instance in this: "I have given bread to the hungry and drink to him who was athirst; I have clothed the naked with garments."

The truth of what the soul thus asserted in its own behalf was tested by the balances of the gods. In one of the scales was placed the heart of the deceased; in the other was placed a feather, a symbol of truth or righteousness. The soul stood by watching the weighing. If the heart were found not wanting, but



FIG. 26. — THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD. (From a papyrus)

Showing the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the scales of truth.

weighed just equal to the symbol of truth, Osiris pronounced the soul justified, and it was welcomed to the company of the blessed. The fate of the unjustified seems to have been annihilation, but the texts which we possess are not perfectly clear on this point.

This judgment scene in the nether world forms the most instructive memorial of old Egypt that has been preserved to us. We here learn what sort of a conscience the Egyptian had developed by the dawn of history; for the confession and the doctrine of a judgment day date from the earliest period of Egyptian civilization. The moral teachers of Egypt here anticipated the moral teachers of Israel.

43. Architecture, Sculpture, and Minor Arts. — At a comparatively early period Egyptian civilization ceased to be progressive.

The past was taken as a model, just as it is in China to-day. So what is here said of the arts is, speaking broadly, as true of them in the third millennium before Christ, or even earlier, as at

any later period of Egyptian history.

In the building art the ancient Egyptians, in some respects, have never been surpassed. The Memphian pyramids built by the earlier, and the Theban temples raised by the later Pharaohs have excited the astonishment and the admiration alike of all the successive generations that have looked upon them. "Thebes," says Lenormant, "in spite of all the ravages of time and of the barbarian still presents the grandest, the most prodigious assemblage of buildings ever erected by the hand of man."

In the cutting and shaping of enormous blocks of the hardest stone, the Egyptians achieved

results which modern stonecutters can scarcely equal. "It is doubtful," says Rawlinson, "whether the steam-sawing of the present day could be trusted to produce in ten years from the quarries of Aberdeen a single obelisk such as those which the Pharaohs set up by dozens."²⁸

²⁸ *History of Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 498. The Egyptian stonecutters did much of their work with bronze tools, to which they were able by some process to give a very hard edge. In the very earliest times they had invented the tubular drill, which they set with hard cutting points. With this instrument they did work which engineers of to-day say could not be surpassed with the modern diamond drill. See Flinders Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, pp. 26, 27.



FIG. 27. — AN EGYPTIAN OBELISK

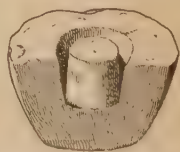


FIG. 28. — TUBULAR DRILL HOLE



PLATE IV.—THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS AT KARNAK
(From a photograph)

Egyptian sculpture seems to have grown out of pictorial writing. The figure or character, at first a mere outline drawing, was after a time cut into the rock surface, and next the rock was chiseled away so as to leave the figure in low relief. The Egyptians barely reached the point so early attained by the Greeks, who cut the figure clear around, and forced it to stand out boldly, away from all support. As we have seen (sec. 25), sculpture was at its best in the earliest period; that it became so imitative, unprogressive, and rigid was due to the influence of religion. The artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, was not allowed to change a single line of the sacred form. Wilkinson says that Menes would have recognized the statue of Osiris in the temples of the last of the Pharaohs.

In many of the minor arts the Egyptians attained a surprisingly high degree of excellence. They were able in coloring glass to secure tints

as brilliant and beautiful as any which modern art has been able to produce. In gem cutting they showed wonderful skill. The sacred scarabæus (beetle) was reproduced with linings so delicate that it is almost certain that magnifying glasses were used in the work.

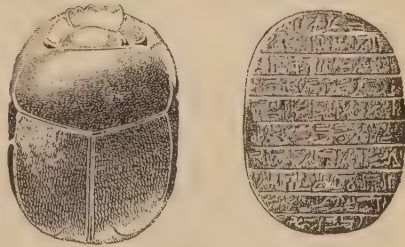


FIG. 29. — A SCARAB AMULET

44. The Sciences: Astronomy, Geometry, and Medicine. — The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt invited the inhabitants of the Nile valley to the study of the heavenly bodies.²⁴ And another circumstance closely related to their very existence, the inundation of the Nile, following the changing cycles of the stars, could not but have incited them to the watching and predicting of astronomical movements. Their observations led them to discover the length, very nearly, of the sidereal year, which they made to consist of 365 days, every fourth year adding one day, making the number

²⁴ Astrological speculations were mingled with all the more solid astronomical attainments of the Egyptians.

for that year 366. This was the calendar that Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Empire, and which, slightly reformed by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, has been the system employed by almost all the civilized world up to the present day (sec. 496).

The Greeks accounted for the early rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by the necessity they were under of reëstablishing each year the boundaries of their fields — the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success. A single papyrus has been discovered that holds twelve geometrical theorems.

The Egyptian physicians relied largely on magic, for every ailment was supposed to be caused by a demon that must be expelled by means of magical rites and incantations. But they also used drugs of various kinds; the ciphers or characters employed by modern apothecaries to designate grains and drams are of Egyptian invention.

45. Egypt's Contribution to Civilization. — Egypt, we thus see, made valuable gifts to civilization. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later culture of the peoples of Western Asia, of the Greeks and Romans, and of the nations of modern Europe. "We are the heirs of the civilized past," says Sayce, "and a goodly portion of that civilized past was the creation of ancient Egypt."

Selections from the Sources. — *Records of the Past* (New Series, edited by Sayce), vol. iii, "The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep." Petrie's *Egyptian Tales* (Second Series), "*Anpu and Bata*." "The description of Bata is one of the most beautiful character drawings of the past" (Petrie). HERODOTUS, ii. 1-14. The student should bear in mind that the parts of Herodotus' work devoted to the Orient have a very different historical value from that possessed by those portions of the history which deal primarily with Greek affairs. "The net result of Oriental research," says Professor Sayce, "in its bearing upon Herodotus is to show that the greater part of what he professes to tell us of the history of Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia is really a collection of 'märchen,' or popular stories, current among the Greek loungers and half-caste dragomen on the skirts of the Persian empire. . . . After all, . . . it may be questioned whether they are not of higher value for the history of the human mind than the most accurate descriptions of kings and generals, of wars and treaties and revolutions."

References (Modern). — MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. i-vi; *The Struggle of the Nations*, chaps. i-v; and *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*. PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt* and *A History of Egypt*, vols. i-iv. RAWLINSON, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 2 vols., and *Story of Ancient Egypt*. WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* and *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*. WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*; should be used with care — portions are antiquated. ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*. BUDGE, *Egyptian Religion*, *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, and *The Mummy*. SAYCE, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*. PERROT and CHAPIEZ, *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. *The Book of the Dead*. There is a translation by Budge and another by Davis. 2. Some results of recent excavations. See *Petrie*. 3. The ancient water system. 4. The nature of the government. 5. The myth of Osiris and the Osirian doctrine. 6. History of the statuettes of servants placed in the tomb. See *Maspero* and *Wiedemann*.

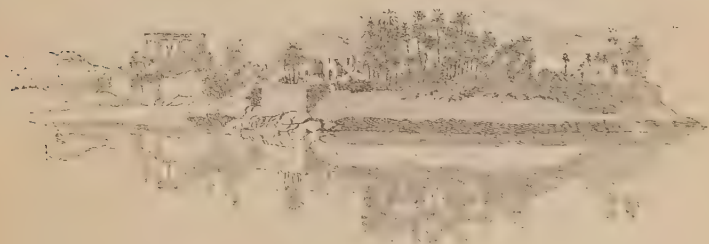


FIG. 30. — PHILÆ, "THE PEARL OF EGYPT"

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FIG. 31. — THE BABIL MOUND AT BABYLON AS IT APPEARED IN 1811

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY CITY-STATES OF BABYLONIA AND THE OLD BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

(From about 5000 to 1100 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

46. The Tigris and Euphrates Valley; the Upper and the Lower Country. — We must now trace the upspringing of civilization in Babylonia, "The Asian Egypt."

As in the case of Egypt, so in that of the Tigris and Euphrates valley,¹ the physical features of the country exerted a great influence upon the history of its ancient peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district; and this twofold division in natural features is reflected, as we shall see, throughout its political history.

The northern part of the valley, the portion that comprised ancient Assyria, consists of undulating plains, broken in places by mountain ridges. This region nourished a hardy and warlike race, and became the seat of a great military empire.

¹ The ancient Greeks gave to the land embraced by the Tigris and the Euphrates the name of Mesopotamia, which means the "land between the rivers."

The southern part of the valley, the part known as Babylonia, is, like the delta region of Egypt, an alluvial deposit. The making of new land by the rivers has gone on steadily during historic times. The ruins of one of the ancient seaports of the country (Eridu) lie over a hundred miles inland from the present head of the Persian Gulf. In ancient times the land was protected against the inundations of the rivers, and watered in seasons of drought, by a stupendous system of dikes and canals,



FIG. 32. — ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CANALS

which at the present day, in a ruined and sand-choked condition, cover like a network the face of the country.

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these alluvial flats excited the wonder of the Greek travelers who visited the East. Herodotus will not tell the whole truth for fear his veracity may be doubted. It is not strange that tradition should have located here Paradise, that primeval garden "out of the ground of which God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food." This favored plain in a remote period of antiquity became the seat of an agricultural, industrial, and

commercial population among which the arts of civilized life found probably their very earliest development.

47. The Babylonians a Mixed People. — The original inhabitants of Babylonia are thought by the majority of Assyrian scholars to have belonged to a non-Semitic race, and are generally known as Sumerians, from Sumer, the name of one of the ancient divisions of the country. They seem to have migrated into the valley from



MAP OF THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY

the mountain district on the northeast. These people are believed to have laid the basis of civilization in the Euphrates valley.

At a very early time there seem to have come into the country from Arabia immigrants of Semitic race. These foreigners were nomadic in habits, and altogether much less cultured than the Sumerians. Gradually, however, they adopted the arts of the people among whom they had settled, retaining, however, their own language, which in the course of time superseded the speech of the original inhabitants. The union of the two races formed the Babylonians of history.

48. The Age of City-States (about 5000–2250 B.C.) ; **Sargon I** (about 3800 B.C.). — When the light of history first falls upon the Mesopotamian lands, that is about 5000 B.C., it reveals the lower

river plain filled with city-states² like those which we find later in Greece and in Italy. Each city had its patron god and was ruled by a king.

From the old Babylonian libraries (sec. 54)³ patient scholars are gradually reading the wonderful story of these ancient cities, probably the oldest built by man. The political side of their history may, for our present purpose, be summarized by saying that for a period of almost three millenniums—a period longer than that which has passed since Athens and Rome appeared in history—these records, as far as they have become known to us, are annals of wars waged for supremacy by one city and its gods against other cities and their gods.

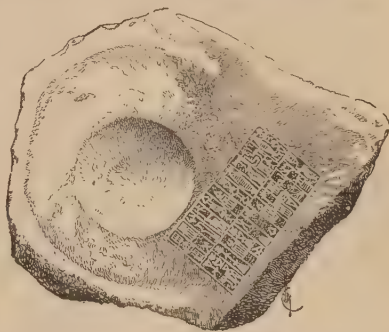


FIG. 33.—DOOR SOCKET OF SARGON I
(From *Records of the Past*)

Of all the kings whose names have already been recovered from the monuments we shall here speak only of Sargon I, a Semitic king of Agade, whose reign forms some such landmark in early Babylonian history as that of the great Charlemagne forms in what we may regard as the corresponding period in the history of Western Europe.³ An inscription recently deciphered makes this king to have reigned as early as 3800 B.C.⁴

Sargon built up a powerful state in Babylonia and extended his rule to the Mediterranean, thus bringing the civilization of the Euphrates into significant contact with that rising in the West.

² Prominent among these early cities were Eridu, Ur, Larsam, Uruk, Shirpurla, Nippur, Sippar, and Agade.

³ "He may fairly be called the Charlemagne of Babylonian history." — PETERS, *Nippur*, vol. ii, p. 251.

⁴ The inscription from which the date is derived is upon a cylinder of the last Babylonian king, Nabonidus, who reigned 555-558 B.C. He says that in restoring a temple at Sippar he found a cylinder which had been deposited 3200 years before his day by Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon. The date is open to question.

Yet not as a warrior but as a patron of letters is Sargon destined to a sure place in history. He caused to be collected and edited the literature of the early period, and deposited the books in great libraries, which he established or enlarged, — the oldest and most valuable libraries of the ancient world.

49. The Rise of Babylon: Hammurabi founds the Old Babylonian Empire (about 2250 B.C.).— From the remotest times the city-states of Babylonia had for enemies the kings of Elam, a country



FIG. 34. — IMPRESSION OF A SEAL OF SARGON I. (Date about 3800 B.C.)

"Must be ranked among the masterpieces of Oriental engraving" (Maspero)

bordering Babylonia on the east, and of which Susa was the capital. For centuries at a time the Elamite kings held the cities of the plain in a state of more or less complete vassalage. Their dominion was finally broken by

a king of Babylon, a city which had been gradually rising into prominence, and which was to give to the whole country the name by which it is best known — Babylonia. The name of this king was Hammurabi (about 2250 B.C.). He united under his rule all the cities of Babylonia, and became the true founder of what is known as the Old Babylonian Empire.

Hammurabi has been called the Babylonian Moses, for the reason that he promulgated a code of laws which in some respects is remarkably like the Mosaic code of the Hebrews. Concerning this oldest system of laws in the world we shall say something a little farther on (sec. 61).

50. The Old Babylonian Empire eclipsed by the Rising Assyrian Empire. — For more than fifteen hundred years after Hammurabi, Babylon continued to be the political and commercial center of an empire of varying fortunes, of changing dynasties, and of shifting frontiers. This long history, still only very imperfectly known to us, we pass without notice.

Meanwhile a Semitic power had been slowly developing in the North. This was the Assyrian Empire, the later heart and center of which was the great city of Nineveh. For a long time Assyria was practically a province of the lower kingdom; but in 728 B.C. Babylonia was conquered by an Assyrian king (Tiglath-Pileser III), and from that time on to 625 B.C. the country was for the most part under Assyrian control.

II. ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE

51. The Remains of the Babylonian Cities and Public Buildings.

—The Babylonian plains are dotted with enormous mounds, generally inclosed by vast crumbled ramparts of earth. These "heaps" are the remains of the great walled cities, the palaces, temples, and shrines of the ancient Babylonians. The peculiar nature of these ruins arises from the character of the ancient Babylonian edifices and the kind of building material used in their construction.

In the first place, in order to secure for their temples and palaces a firm foundation on the water-soaked land, as well as to lend to them a certain dignity or to render them more easily defended, the Babylonian kings raised their public buildings on enormous platforms of earth or adobe. These structures were often many acres in extent and were raised generally to a height of forty or more feet above the level of the plain.

Upon these immense platforms were built the temples of the gods and the palaces of the king. The country affording neither timber nor stone, recourse was had to sun-dried bricks as the chief building material, burnt brick being used, in the main, only for the outer casing of the walls. The buildings were one-storied, with thick and heavy walls, and with roofs of huge cedar beams. Often the lower portion of the walls of the chief courts and chambers were paneled with glazed bricks.

In their decay these edifices have sunk down into great heaps of earth, which the storms of centuries have furrowed with deep ravines, giving many of them the appearance of natural

ruin-crowned hills, for which in truth some of the earlier visitors to Babylonia mistook them.

52. Excavations and Discoveries. — About the middle of the nineteenth century some mounds of the upper country, near and on the site of ancient Nineveh, were excavated, and the world was astonished to see rising as from the tomb the palaces of the



FIG. 35.—EXCAVATION SHOWING PAVEMENTS IN A COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF BEL AT NIPPUR. (After *Hilprecht*)

The lower pavement, marked "1," was put down by Sargon I and Naram-Sin (about 3800 B.C.), and the upper one, marked "5," by the Assyrian king Asshur-banipal (668–626? B.C.). The pavements are thus separated by a period of over 3000 years.

great Assyrian kings (sec. 69). This was the beginning of excavations and discoveries in the Mesopotamian lands which during the past half century have restored the history of long-forgotten empires, reconstructed the history of the Orient, and given us a new beginning for universal history.

Some of the most important finds in Babylonia were made during the closing years of the nineteenth century by the French at Tello,⁵

⁵ Or Telloh, the site of ancient Lagash. Here magnificent statues showing a remarkably high development of sculpture, ruins of large temples, and an extensive temple library particularly rich in Sumerian writings, were found.

and by the Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, on the site of the ancient Nippur. The excavation here of the ruins of the great temple of Bel brought to light memorials which prove that this city was one of the religious centers of the old Babylonian world for more than four thousand years, — a period more than twice as long as that during which Rome has been the religious center of Catholic Christendom.



FIG. 36. — ARCH DISCOVERED AT NIPPUR. (After Hilprecht)

This is the oldest true arch known

One of the most valuable things unearthed at Nippur was the temple library. But to appreciate the import of this a word is here necessary concerning the Babylonian system of writing and its decipherment.

53. Cuneiform Writing. — From the earliest period known to us, the Babylonians were in possession of a system of phonetic writing. To this system the term *cuneiform* (from *cuneus*, a

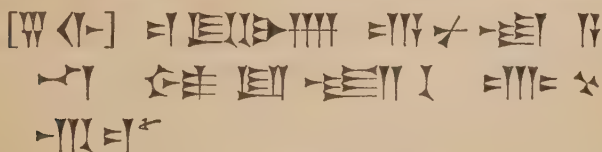


FIG. 37. — CUNEIFORM WRITING

Translation: "Five thousand mighty cedars I spread for its roof"

wedge) has been given on account of its wedge-shaped characters. The signs assumed this peculiar form from being impressed upon soft clay tablets with a triangular writing instrument (stylus).

This system of writing had been developed out of an earlier system of picture writing, as is plainly shown by a comparison of the earlier with the later forms of the characters (Fig. 38). The

MEANING		OUTLINE CHARACTER, B. C. 4500	ARCHAIC CUNEIFORM, B. C. 2500	ASSYRIAN, B. C. 700	LATE BABYLONIAN, B. C. 500
1.	The sun				
2.	God, heaven				
3.	Mountain				
4.	Man				
5.	Ox				
6.	Fish				

FIG. 38.—TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CUNEIFORM WRITING. (After *King*)

Babylonians never developed the system beyond the syllabic stage (sec. 12). They employed a syllabary of between four and five hundred signs.⁶

This mode of writing was in use among the peoples of Western Asia from about 5000 B.C. down to the first century preceding our era. For the first four thousand years and more of this period it was just such an important factor in the civilization of the Semitic world as the Phœnician alphabet (sec. 93) during the last three thousand years has been in the civilization of the Aryan world. It was the chief corner stone of Semitic culture.

54. Books and Libraries.—The writing material of the Babylonians was usually clay tablets, averaging perhaps six inches

⁶ The Persians at a much later time borrowed the system and developed it into a purely alphabetic one. Their alphabet consisted of thirty-six characters.

in length, two in width, and one in thickness. Those holding records of special importance, after having been once written upon and baked, were covered with a thin coating of clay, and then the matter was written in duplicate and the tablets again baked. If the outer writing were defaced by accident or altered by design, the removal of the outer coating would at once show the true text.



FIG. 39. — CONTRACT
TABLET

The outer case has been broken to show the inner version

The tablets were carefully preserved in great public libraries. There was one or more of these collections in each of the chief cities of Babylonia. Erech was especially renowned for its great library, and was known as "the City of Books." Often the temple of the chief deity was made the depositary of the collection of books. The temple library found at Nippur contained over 30,000 tablets.

55. The Decipherment of the Cuneiform Writing; the Contents of the Libraries. — Just as the key to the Egyptian writing was found by means of bilingual inscriptions, so was the key to the cuneiform script discovered by means of trilingual inscriptions, among which was a very celebrated one cut by a Persian king on the so-called Behistun Rock (sec. 98). Credit for the decipherment of the difficult writing is divided among several scholars.⁷

The tablets have been found to cover the greatest variety of subjects. There are mythological tablets, which hold the stories of the Babylonians respecting their gods; religious tablets, filled

⁷ Copies of trilingual inscriptions — written in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian — were brought from Persepolis to Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. The clew to the decipherment of the Persian text was found by Grotefend in 1802. He identified the names of Darius, Hystaspes, and Xerxes, the word for "king" and nine of the thirty-nine signs. In 1835 Rawlinson copied a longer inscription in these same languages made by Darius on the rock at Behistun. Independently he arrived at the same conclusions as Grotefend. The column of the Achæmenian inscriptions written in the language of Susiana was deciphered chiefly by Westergaard and Norris. It is the merit of Löwenstern to have taken the first successful steps to the decipherment of the Babylonian text in 1845; but our knowledge of the character of script and language is chiefly due to Hincks.

with prayers and hymns; legal tablets, containing laws, law cases, contracts, wills, loans, and various other matters of a commercial nature; legendary and epic tablets; and astronomical, geographical, historical, and mathematical tablets, — all revealing a very highly developed civilization. We will say just a word of what the tablets reveal respecting the religion and mythology of the Babylonians, and of the state of the sciences among them.

56. The Religion. — The tablets hold a large religious literature, which forms one of the earliest and most instructive chapters in the religious history of the race. At the earliest period made known to us by the native records, we find the pantheon to embrace many powerful local deities — the patron gods of the different cities — and nature gods; but at no period do we find a Supreme God, such as had a place in the Egyptian religious system. Besides the great gods there was a vast multitude of lesser gods.

The most prominent feature from first to last of the popular religion was the belief in spirits, particularly in wicked spirits, and the practice of magic rites and incantations to avert the malign influence of these demons.

A second most important feature of the religion was what is known as astrology, or the foretelling of events by the aspects of the stars. This side of the religious system was most elaborately and ingeniously developed until the fame of the Chaldean astrologers was spread throughout the ancient world.

Alongside these low beliefs and superstitious practices there existed, however, higher and purer elements. This is best illustrated by the so-called penitential psalms, dating, some of them, from the second millennium B. C., which breathe a spirit like that which pervades the penitential psalms of the Old Testament.⁸

⁸ Here are a few lines of such a psalm:

O my god who art angry with me, accept my prayer.
 May my sins be forgiven, my transgressions be wiped out.
 May the ban be loosened, the chain broken,
 May the seven winds carry off my sighs.
 [May] flowing waters of the stream wash me clean.
 Let me be pure like the sheen of gold.

JASTROW, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 323.

The most instructive fact for us to note respecting this old Babylonian religion is the influence which it had upon the culture of later ages. For the most part this influence was of a baneful character, for it was chiefly the lower elements of the system, magic, sorcery, and astrology, which were absorbed by the borrowing nations of the West. Thus astrology among the later Romans and the popular beliefs of the Middle Ages in regard to evil spirits, exorcisms, charms, witches, and the devil, were in large part an inheritance from old Babylonia. This wretched heritage was transmitted from the East to the Western world at the same time that Christianity came in from Judea.

57. Ideas of the Future Life. — The beliefs of the Babylonians respecting the other world were in strange contrast to those of the Egyptians. In truth they gave but little thought to the after life; and it is no wonder that they did not like to keep the subject in mind, for they imagined the life after death to be most sad and doleful. The abode of the dead (Arallu), the “dark land,” the “land of no return,” was a dusky region beneath the earth. Bats flitted about in the dim light; dust was upon the lintels of the barred doors; the souls drowsed in their places; their food was dust and mud.

There was no judgment of the dead as among the Egyptians. There was no distinction, in the case of the great multitude,⁹ between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down to death.

58. The Place of the Temple in the Life of the People. — Religion among the Babylonians, as among all the peoples of antiquity, was largely an affair of the state. A chief care and duty of the king was the erection and repair of the temples and shrines of the gods.¹⁰

⁹ There was a sort of Elysium, like that of the Greeks, for men of great deeds and great piety.

¹⁰ A peculiar architectural feature of the temple was an immense *ziggurat* or tower, which consisted of a number of stages or platforms raised one upon another in the form of a great step pyramid. There was a famous tower-temple of this kind at Borsippa, a suburb of Babylon. This had seven stages, each being sacred to one of the planets, among which were reckoned the sun and moon. Each stage was given the conventional color of the body to which it was consecrated. The requisite color in the case of several of the stages was secured by facing them with colored

The temples were much more than abodes of the gods and places of worship. A common adjunct of the sacred building was a library and school, which were in charge of the priests and scribes. The temples were also banks, and their courts places for the transaction of all manner of business. All kinds of contracts were drawn up by the temple scribes and copies of the same deposited for safe-keeping in the temple archives. An immense number of these contract tablets have been found, so that we

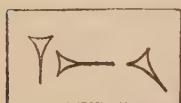


FIG. 40. — WRITING EXERCISE TABLETS OF
A CHILD

(Found at Nippur; after *Hilprecht*)

now have probably a better knowledge of the commercial affairs of the old Babylonians than of any other people of antiquity.

Many of the temples, like the churches and monasteries of mediæval Europe, were richly endowed with lands and

other property. Indeed, the gods were the largest landowners in the state. The god Bel at Nippur seems to have owned a great part of the city and its lands.

59. The Epic of Creation. — In what is called the Creation Epic, which has been recovered in a fragmentary state from the cuneiform tablets, we have the Babylonian version of the creation of the heavens and the earth by the great god Marduk, the Merodach of the Bible.

This story of the creation is told with many variations in the literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. These tales present certain resemblances to the account of the creation given in the Sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews. But there are striking differences which it is instructive to notice. The Bible account, in contrast with the Babylonian tales, is divested of all polytheistic elements, and is so told as to inspire true religious feeling and to render it a means of moral training.

enameled bricks. But the moon stage, it seems probable, was covered with plates of silver and the sun stage with plates of gold.

60. The Epic of Gilgamesh. — Besides their legends concerning the beginning of things, the Babylonians had a large number of so-called heroic and nature myths. The most noted of these form what is known as the Epic of Gilgamesh,¹¹ the Babylonian Heracles. This is doubtless the oldest epic of the race. It held some such place in Babylonian literature and art as the cycle of myths and legends making up the epic of the Trojan War held in the literature and art of the Greeks. Echoes of it reached the Ægean lands and helped to mold the Greek story of Heracles (sec. 128).



FIG. 41. — HAMMURABI RECEIVING
THE CODE FROM THE SUN GOD
(After Harper)

61. Legislation: the Code of Hammurabi. — In 1901-2 the French excavators at Susa, in the ancient Elam, discovered a block of stone upon which was inscribed the code of laws set up by Hammurabi, king of Babylon, in the third millennium B.C. (sec. 49). The supreme interest which attaches to this code springs not alone from the circumstance that it is the oldest system of laws known to us, but also from the revelation it makes of the social and industrial conditions in that far-off time.

Casting thus a strong side light on Babylonian life of the period when it was compiled, the code constitutes one of the most valuable monuments spared to us from the old Semitic world. It defines the rights and duties of husband and wife, master and slave, of merchants, gardeners, tenants, shepherds, —

¹¹ The epic is made up of a great variety of material. Some of its incidents may very likely have been dim recollections of the heroic deeds of some great historical personage. One of the stories of greatest interest is that of the Deluge.

of all the classes which made up the population of the Babylonian Empire. As in the case of the later Hebrew code, the principle of retaliation determined the penalty for injury done another; it was an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a limb for a limb.

The owner of a vicious ox which had pushed or gored a man was required to pay a heavy fine, provided he knew the disposition of the creature and had not blunted its horns (see Ex. xxi. 28-32).

The law fixes prices and wages, the hire for boats and wagons and of oxen for threshing, the fee of the surgeon, the wages of the brickmaker, of the tailor, of the carpenter, and of other artisans.

There are also provisions forbidding under severe penalties the harboring of runaway slaves, provisions which read strangely like our own fugitive slave laws of a half century ago.

For more than two thousand years after its compilation this code of laws was in force in the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and even after this lapse of time it was used as a text-book in the schools of the Mesopotamian lands. Probably no other code save the Mosaic or the Justinian (sec. 577) has exerted a greater influence upon human society. "As the oldest body of laws in existence," says an eminent Assyrian scholar, "it marks a great epoch in the world's history, and must henceforth form the starting point for the systematic study of historic jurisprudence."

62. Sciences: Astronomy, the Calendar, and Mathematics. — In astronomy the Babylonians made substantial progress. Their knowledge of the heavens came about both from their interest as astrologers in the stars, and from their needs as navigators of the Persian Gulf. They early divided the zodiac into twelve signs and named the zodiacal constellations, a memorial of their astronomical attainments which will remain forever inscribed upon the great circle of the heavens; they foretold eclipses of the sun and moon; they invented the sundial to tell off the hours of sunlight and the water clock to measure the hours of darkness; they divided the year into twelve months, the day and night into hours, and the hours into minutes, and devised the week of seven days, ending with a day of rest called *Sabattu*. Through Israel

this institution of the week with its sacred rest day became the heritage of the later world of culture.

In the mathematical sciences, also, the Babylonians made considerable advance. A tablet has been found which contains the squares and cubes of the numbers from one to sixty. The duodecimal system in numbers was the invention of the Babylonians, and it is from them that the system has come to us.

The Babylonians invented measures of length, weight, and capacity. It was from them that all the peoples of antiquity derived their systems of weight and measure. Aside from letters, these are perhaps the most indispensable agents in the life of a people after they have risen above the lowest levels of barbarism.

Selections from the Sources. — Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (selected translations), pp. 408-413, "Ishtar's Descent to Hades." This is one of the choicest pieces of Babylonian literature. Sayce's *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, pp. 313-319, "The Babylonian Account of the Deluge." This can be found also in Smith's *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, chap. xvi. *The Code of Hammurabi*, in either the Johns or the Harper translation. "The Code of Hammurabi is one of the most important monuments of the human race" (Johns).

References (Modern). — MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. vii-ix, and *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. i. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (first part). ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i. RAGOZIN, *The Story of Chaldea*. HOMMEL, *The Civilization of the East*. GOODSPEED, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (to pt. iii). HILPRECHT, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*. PETERS, *Nippur*, 2 vols. JASTROW, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. KING, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. DELITZSCH, *Babel and Bible*. SAYCE, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*. PERROT and CHAPIEZ, *A History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 2 vols. SCHMIDT, *Outlines of a History of Babylonia and Assyria*, with its carefully selected lists of authoritative works, will be of special service to the advanced student.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Excavations and discoveries in Babylonia. 2. The cuneiform writing and its decipherment. 3. The Babylonian libraries. 4. Babylonian magic. 5. The penitential psalms. 6. The ancient canal system. 7. Trade and commerce.



FIG. 42. — AN ASSYRIAN WINGED BULL

CHAPTER V

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

(From an unknown date to 606 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

63. Introduction. — In the preceding chapter we traced the beginnings of civilization among the early settlers of the lowlands of the Euphrates. Meanwhile, as has already been noticed, farther to the north, upon the banks of the Tigris, were growing into strength and prominence a rival Semitic people, — the Assyrians. Of the place in world history of the empire represented by this people we must now try to form some sort of idea.

The story of Assyria is in the main a story of the Assyrian kings. To relate this story in detail would involve endless repetition of the royal records of military raids and campaigns in all the countries of Western Asia. We shall therefore speak of only two or three of those kings whose ability as conquerors or as organizers, or whose munificence as builders and patrons of arts and letters has caused their names to live among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

64. Tiglath-Pileser III¹ (745–727 B.C.).—One of the greatest of the later kings was Tiglath-Pileser III. He was a man of great energy and of undoubted military talent. The empire which had been built up by earlier kings having fallen into disorder, he restored the Assyrian power and extended the limits of the empire even beyond its former boundaries.

But what renders the reign of this king a landmark not only in Assyrian, but, we may almost say, in universal history, is the fact that he was not a mere conqueror like his predecessors, but a political organizer of great capacity.

Hitherto the empires that had arisen in Western Asia consisted simply of tributary or vassal cities and states, each of which, having its own king, was ready at the first favorable moment to revolt against its suzerain, who, like a mediæval feudal king, was simply a great overlord, “a king of kings.”

Now Tiglath-Pileser, though not the first to introduce, was the first to put into practice in a large way, the plan of reducing conquered states to provinces, — that is, instead of allowing the princes that he conquered to rule as his vassals, he put in their places Assyrian magistrates, or viceroys, upon whose loyalty he could depend.

This system gave a more compact and permanent character to his conquests. It is true he was not able to carry out his system perfectly; but in realizing the plan to the extent that he did, he laid the basis of the power and glory of the great kings who followed him upon the Assyrian throne, and made the later Assyrian Empire, to a certain degree, the prototype of the succeeding world empires of Darius, Alexander, and Cæsar.

65. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.).—Sargon II was a great conqueror and builder. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria, the siege of which had been commenced by his predecessor, and carried away the most influential classes of the “Ten Tribes” of Israel into captivity (sec. 84). The greater portion of the captives were scattered among the towns of Media, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of that region.

¹ Formerly Tiglath-Pileser II.

This transplanting of a conquered people was a regular governmental device of the Assyrian kings. It was done not only in order that conspiracy and revolt should be rendered practically impossible, but also in order that, with the old ties of country and home thus severed, the rising generation might the more easily forget past wrongs and old traditions and customs, and become blended with the peoples about them.

Sargon was a famous builder. Near the foot of the Persian hills he founded a large city, which he named for himself; and there he erected a royal residence, described in the inscriptions as

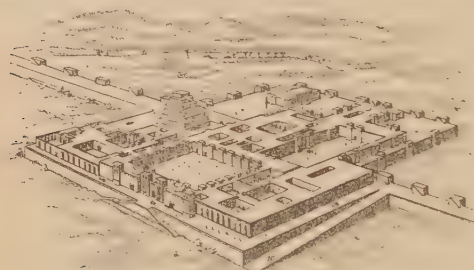


FIG. 43. — RESTORATION OF SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD. (From Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*)

"a palace of incomparable magnificence," the site of which is now preserved by the vast mounds of Khorsabad (sec. 69).

66. Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.).—To Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, we must accord the first place of re-

noun among all the great names of the Assyrian Empire. His name, connected as it is with the history of Jerusalem and with many of the most wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon.

The fullness of the royal inscriptions of this reign enables us to permit Sennacherib to tell us in his own words of his great works and military expeditions: Respecting the decoration of Nineveh, he writes: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I made the whole town a city shining like the sun."

Concerning an expedition against Hezekiah, king of Judah, he says: "I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the



ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
About 660 B. C.

M. N. WORKS.

smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape."

While Sennacherib was besieging Jerusalem, the king of Egypt appeared in the field in the south with aid for Hezekiah. This caused Sennacherib to draw off his forces from the siege to meet the new enemy; but near the frontiers of Egypt the Assyrian host, according to the Hebrew account, was smitten by "the angel of the Lord,"² and the king returned with a shattered army and without glory to his capital Nineveh.

Sennacherib laid a heavy hand upon Babylon, which at this time was the leading city of the lower country. That city having revolted, Sennacherib captured the place, and, as his inscription declares, destroyed it "root and branch," casting the rubbish into the "River of Babylon."³



FIG. 44. — AN ASSYRIAN KING (? SENNACHERIB)

The closing years of his reign Sennacherib employed in the digging of canals and in the erection of a splendid palace at Nineveh.

67. Asshur-bani-pal (668–626? B.C.). — This king, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, is distinguished for his magnificent patronage of art and literature. During his reign Assyria enjoyed her Golden Age. He caused a great library to be collected at Nineveh, in which was gathered whatever was of greatest value in the literature of the southern land.

² See 2 Kings xix. 35, 36; and 2 Chron. xxxii. 21.

³ The city was rebuilt by Sennacherib's son and successor Esarhaddon I (680–668 B.C.). This king enlarged the empire by the conquest of Northern Arabia and of Egypt.

But Asshur-bani-pal was also possessed of a warlike spirit. He broke to pieces, with terrible energy, in swift campaigns, the enemies of his empire. Elam especially was made an awful example of his vengeance ; its cities were leveled, and the whole country was laid waste. All the scenes of his sieges and battles he caused to be sculptured on the walls of his palace at Nineveh. These pictured panels are now in the British Museum. They are a perfect Iliad in stone.

68. The Fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.). — Saracus, who came to the throne towards the end of the seventh century B.C., was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. For nearly or quite six centuries the Ninevite kings had now lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all Western Asia that during this time had not, in the language of the royal inscriptions, “ borne the heavy yoke of their lordship ” ; scarcely a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments, or tasted the bitterness of enforced exile.

But now swift misfortunes were bearing down upon the oppressor from every quarter. Egypt revolted and tore Syria away from the empire ; from the mountain defiles on the east issued the armies of the recent-grown empire of the Aryan Medes, led by the renowned Cyaxares ; from the southern lowlands, anxious to aid in the overthrow of the hated oppressor, the Babylonians joined the Medes as allies, and together they laid close siege to Nineveh.

The city was finally taken and sacked, and dominion passed away forever from the proud capital (606 B.C.). Two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks, in his memorable retreat (sec. 259), passed the spot, the once great city was a crumbling mass of ruins, of which he could not even learn the name.

II. THE CIVILIZATION

69. Assyrian Excavations and Discoveries. — In Assyria there are many mounds like those in Babylonia. These mark the sites of the old Assyrian cities ; for though stone in this upper country is abundant, the Assyrians, being colonists from the lower country,

continued to use in the main sun-dried bricks in the construction of their buildings.⁴ Hence in their decay the Assyrian edifices have left just such earth-mounds as those which form the tombs of the old Babylonian cities and temples.

In 1843-1844 M. Botta, the French consul at Mosul on the Tigris, excavated the mound at Khorsabad, and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the palace of Sargon II. The sculptured and lettered slabs were

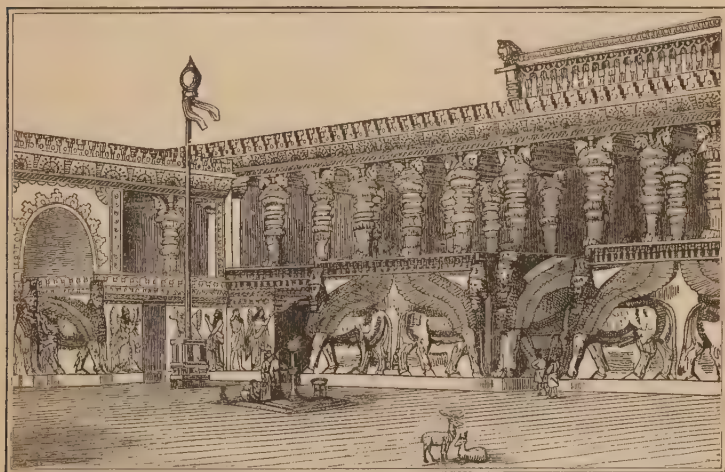


FIG. 45.—RESTORATION OF A COURT IN SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD. (After *Fergusson*)

removed to the Museum of the Louvre, in Paris. In 1845-1851 Layard disintombed the palace of Sennacherib and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calah, and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search.

70. Assyrian Palaces and Temples.—The Assyrian kings paid more attention to the royal residence than to the temples of the gods, though they were by no means neglectful of the latter. In imitation, of the Babylonian sovereigns they built their palaces

⁴ Stone when employed was used mainly for decorative purposes and for the foundation of walls.

and temples upon artificial terraces or platforms. The great palace mound at Nineveh covers an area of about one hundred acres, and is sixty or seventy feet in height. Upon this mound stood several of the most splendid palaces of the Ninevite kings.



FIG. 46. — EMBLEM OF
ASSYRIAN DEITY

The group of buildings constituting the royal residence was often of enormous extent; the various courts, halls, and chambers of the palace of Sennacherib, which surmounted the great platform at Nineveh, covered an area of twenty acres, while that of

Sargon at Khorsabad was spread over about twenty-five acres. The palaces were one-storied. The rooms and galleries were plastered with stucco, paneled with precious woods, or lined with enameled bricks. The main halls, however, and the great open courts were faced with slabs of alabaster, covered with sculptures



FIG. 47. — TRANSPORT OF A WINGED BULL. (From Layard's
Monuments of Nineveh)

and inscriptions, the illustrated narrative of the wars and the labors of the monarch. There were two miles of such sculptured paneling at Kouyunjik. At the portals, to guard the approach, were stationed the colossal human-headed bulls.

71. The Royal Library at Nineveh. — Within the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Nineveh was discovered what is known as the Royal Library, from which over twenty thousand tablets were

taken. We learn from the inscriptions that a librarian had charge of the collection. Catalogues of the books have been found, made out on clay tablets. The library was open to the public, for an inscription says, "I [Asshur-bani-pal] wrote upon the tablets; I placed them in my palace for the instruction of my people."

The greater part of the tablets were copies of older Babylonian works; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Babylonians.⁵ All the old libraries of the lower country were ransacked by the agents of Asshur-bani-pal, and copies of "the old masters" made for the new collection at Nineveh. In this way was preserved in duplicate a considerable portion of the early Babylonian literature. The literary treasures secured from the Ninevite library are of greater interest and value to us than those yielded by any other Assyrian-Babylonian collection thus far unearthed.

72. Cruelty of the Assyrians.—The Assyrians have been called the "Romans of Asia." They were a proud, warlike, and

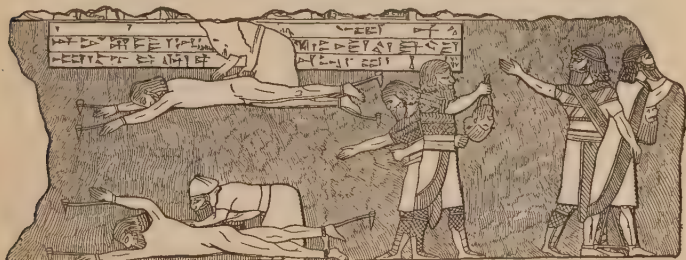


FIG. 48. — ASSYRIANS FLAYING PRISONERS ALIVE. (From a bas-relief)

cruel race. Although possessing genuine religious feeling, still the Assyrian monarchs often displayed in their treatment of prisoners the disposition of savages. The sculptured marbles taken from the palaces exhibit the cruel tortures inflicted upon prisoners; kings are being led before their conqueror with hooks thrust through their lips; other prisoners are being flayed alive; the eyes of

⁵ The relations of Assyria to Babylonian civilization may be illustrated by the relations of Rome (also a military empire) to Greek culture.

some are being bored out with the point of a spear; and still others are having their tongues torn out.

One royal inscription, which is a fair specimen of many others, runs as follows: "Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a tower. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burned in the flames."

73. Royal Sports.—The Assyrian king gloried in being, like the great Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." In his inscriptions the wild beasts he has slain are as carefully enumerated as



FIG. 49. — LION HUNT. (From Nineveh)

the cities he has captured. The monuments are covered with sculptures that represent the king engaged in the favorite royal sport. We see him slaying lions, bulls, and boars, as well as less dangerous animals of the chase, with which the uncultivated tracts of the country appear to have abounded.

74. Services rendered Civilization by Assyria. — Assyria did a work like that done by Rome at a later time. Just as Rome welded all the peoples of the Mediterranean world into a great empire, and then throughout her vast domains scattered the seeds of the civilization which she had borrowed from vanquished Greece, so did Assyria weld into a great empire the innumerable petty warring states and tribes of Western Asia, and then throughout her extended dominions spread the civilization which she had borrowed in a body from the conquered Babylonians.

In thus spreading abroad the best civilization of the Semitic world, Assyria caused it to come into contact with the as yet undeveloped culture of the Aryan-Greek world of the West. "It was from the East," declares Rawlinson, "that Greece derived her architecture, her sculpture, her science, her philosophy, her mathematical knowledge, — in a word, her intellectual life."

There is doubtless exaggeration in this statement, yet it is certainly true that the civilization of Greece and through her the civilization of all the Western world were greatly enriched by gifts, received through the agency of Assyria, from the early culture of the Mesopotamian lands.

Selections from the Sources. — *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. v, pp. 120-128, "The Nimrud Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III," on military and building operations; and vol. iv, pp. 38-52, "Inscription on the Obelisk of Shalmaneser II," shows the harshness and cruelty of Assyrian warfare. This inscription, along with many other selected translations, can also be found in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*.

References (Modern). — MASPERO, *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. vi, and *The Passing of the Empires*, chaps. i-v. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (last part). GOODSPEED, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pt. iii. LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains*. PERROT and CHIPPEZ, *A History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 2 vols. ROGERS, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii, pp. 1-295. RAGOZIN, *The Story of Assyria*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Layard's excavations and discoveries. 2. Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. 3. The relation of Assyrian civilization to the Babylonian. 4. Assyrian animal sculpture. 5. The Assyrian government.



FIG. 50. — A WOUNDED LIONESS
(From an Assyrian sculpture)

CHAPTER VI

THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE

(625-538 B.C.)

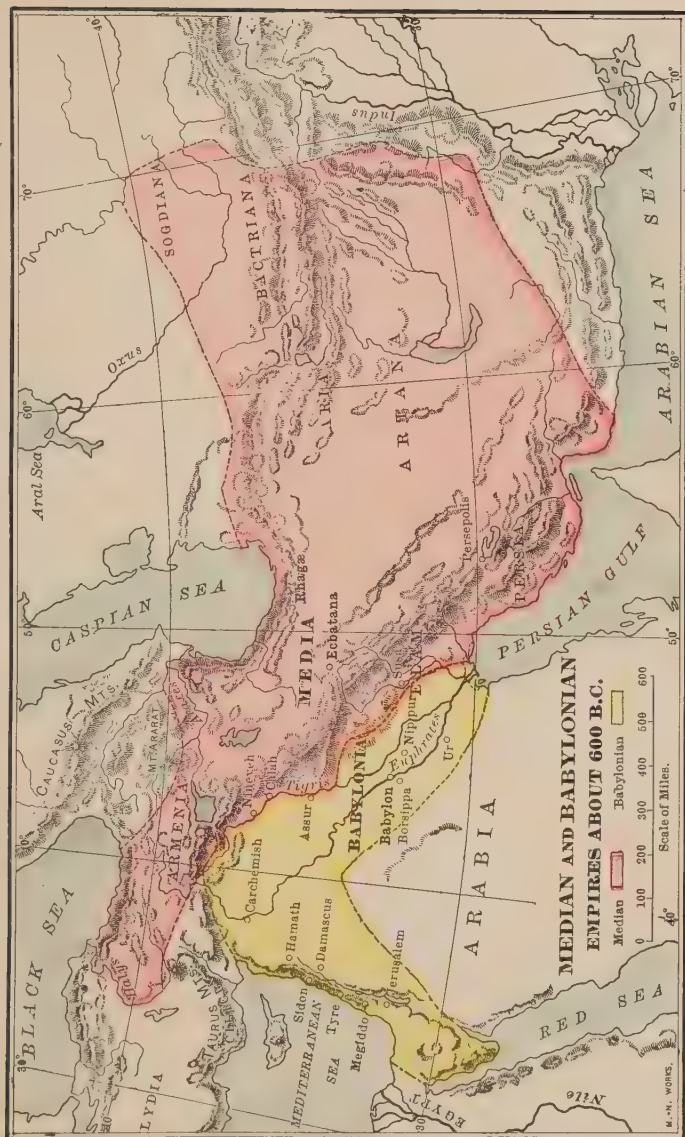
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75. Babylon becomes again a World Power. — Nabopolassar (625-605 B.C.) was the founder of what is known as the Chaldean Empire.¹ At first a vassal king, when troubles and misfortunes began to thicken about the Assyrian court, he revolted and became independent. Later he entered into an alliance with the Median king against his former suzerain (sec. 68). Through the overthrow of Nineveh and the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the Babylonian kingdom received large accessions of territory. For a short time thereafter Babylon filled a great place in history.

76. Nebuchadnezzar II (605-561 B.C.). — Nabopolassar was followed by his renowned son Nebuchadnezzar, whose gigantic architectural works rendered Babylon the wonder of the ancient world.

Jerusalem, having repeatedly revolted, was finally taken and sacked (sec. 85). The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and gold, which were carried away to Babylon, and the temple itself was given to the flames; a part of the people were also carried away into the "Great Captivity" (586 B.C.).

With Jerusalem subdued, Nebuchadnezzar pushed with all his forces the siege of the Phœnician city of Tyre, whose investment had been commenced several years before. In striking language the prophet Ezekiel (xxix. 18) describes the length and hardness of the siege: "Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled." After thirteen years Nebuchadnezzar was apparently forced to raise the siege.

¹ Called also the New Babylonian Empire. Nabopolassar represented the Chaldeans (Kaidu), a people whose home was on the Persian Gulf, and who had carried on a long intermittent struggle with the rulers of Babylon for the possession of Babylonia.



Nebuchadnezzar sought to rival even the Pharaohs in the execution of immense works requiring a vast expenditure of human labor. Among his works were the Great Palace in the royal quarter of the city, the celebrated Hanging Gardens,² the quays along the Euphrates, and the walls of the city. The gardens and the walls were reckoned by the ancients among the wonders of the world.

Especially zealous was Nebuchadnezzar in the erection and restoration of the shrines of the gods. "Like dear life," runs one of his inscriptions, "love I the building of their lodging-places." He dwells with fondness on all the details of the work, and tells how—beginning each day his labors with prayer—he ornamented the panelings of the shrines with precious stones, roofed them with huge beams of cedar overlaid with gold and silver, and decorated the gates with plates of bronze, making the sacred abodes as "bright as the stars of heaven."³

77. The Fall of Babylon (538 B.C.).—The glory of the New Babylonian Empire passed away with Nebuchadnezzar.

To the east of the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom, the Medo-Persian, which at the time now reached by us had become a great imperial power. At the head of this new empire was Cyrus, a strong, energetic, and ambitious sovereign (sec. 96). Coming into collision with the Babylonian king Nabonidus he defeated his army in the open field, and the gates of the strongly fortified capital

² The Hanging Gardens were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. The gardens were probably built somewhat in the form of the tower temples, the successive stages being covered with earth and beautified with rare plants and trees, so as to simulate the appearance of a mountain rising in cultivated terraces towards the sky.

³ See the Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. iii. The spirit of the builder is revealed in the following lines: "To the rebuilding of Esagila my heart incited me; I held it constantly in mind. I selected the best of my cedar trees, which I had brought from Mount Lebanon, the snow-capped forests, for the roofing of E-kua, the shrine of his lordship, and I decorated with brilliant gold the inner sides of the mighty cedar trunks, used in the roofing of E-kua. I adorned the under side of the roof of cedar with gold and precious stones. Concerning the rebuilding of Esagila, I prayed every morning to the king of the gods, the lord of lords."

Babylon were without further resistance thrown open to the Persians⁴ (538 B.C.).

With the fall of Babylon the scepter of dominion, borne for so many millenniums by Semitic princes, was given into the hands of the Aryan peoples, who were destined from this time forward to shape the main course of events⁵ and control the affairs of civilization.

Selections from the Sources. — Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 134-143, "The East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II," a record of the king's great building operations; and pp. 171-174, "The Cylinder of Cyrus," an account of the taking of Babylon.

References (Modern). — MASPERO, *The Passing of the Empires*, chap. v, and *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chaps. xi-xx. ROGERS, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii, pp. 297-381. GOODSPEED, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pt. iv. SAYCE, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pt. ii.

Topic for Special Study. — 1. Nebuchadnezzar as a builder. 2. The walls of Babylon. 3. Cylinder seals.

⁴ The device of turning the Euphrates, which Herodotus makes an incident of the siege, was not resorted to by Cyrus; but it seems that a little later (in 521-519 B.C.), the city, having revolted, was actually taken in this way by the Persian king Darius. Herodotus confused the two events.

⁵ For the temporary revival of Semitic power throughout the Orient by the Arabs, see Chapter LV.



A CYLINDER SEAL⁶

"Every man carries a seal" (Herodotus)

⁶ For the impression of this seal, see p. 50.

CHAPTER VII

THE HEBREWS

78. The Patriarchal Age. — The history of the Hebrews, as narrated in their sacred books, begins with the departure of the patriarch Abraham out of "Ur of the Chaldees."¹ The stories of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his sons Jacob and Esau, of the sojourn and the oppression of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, of the Exodus under the leadership of the great legislator Moses, of the conquest of Canaan by his successor Joshua, and the apportionment of the land among the twelve tribes of Israel, — all these wonderful stories are told in the Old Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made them the familiar possession of childhood.

79. The Age of the Judges (ending about 1050 B.C.). — A long period of anarchy and dissension followed the conquest and settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews. "There was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." During this time there arose a line of national heroes, such as Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages.

These popular leaders were called Judges because they usually exercised judicial functions, acting as arbiters between the different tribes, as well as between man and man. The last of the Judges was Samuel.

80. Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (about 1050 B.C.). — During the period of the Judges the tribes of Israel were united by no central government. But the common dangers to which

¹ Ur was near Nippur.

they were exposed from the attacks of the half-subdued Canaanitish tribes, and the example of the nations about them, led the people finally to begin to think of the advantages of union and of kingly rule.

The situation of things throughout the world at just this time favored the rise of a Hebrew kingdom. All the great states of the Orient, — Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and the Hittite Empire, — exhausted by their struggles with one another for supremacy or undermined by other causes, were suffering a temporary decline, and the way was clear for the advance into the arena of world politics of another competitor for imperial dominion.

The hitherto loose confederation was changed into a kingdom, and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin was made king of the new monarchy (about 1050 B.C.).

81. The Reign of David (about 1025–993 B.C.). — Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, assumed the scepter. After reducing to obedience all the tribes, David set about enlarging his dominions. He built up a real empire and waged wars of extermination against the troublesome tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

David was a poet as well as a warrior. His lament over Saul and Jonathan² is regarded as one of the noblest specimens of elegiac poetry that has come down from Hebrew antiquity. Such was his fame that the authorship of a large number of hymns written in a later age was ascribed to him.

82. The Reign of Solomon (about 993–953 B.C.). David was followed by his son Solomon. The son did not possess the father's talent for military affairs, but was a liberal patron of art, commerce, and learning. He erected with the utmost magnificence of adornment the temple at Jerusalem, planned by his father David. King Hiram of Tyre, who was a close friend of the Hebrew monarch, aided him in this undertaking by supplying him with the celebrated cedar of Lebanon, and with Tyrian architects, the most skilled workmen at that time in the world. The dedication ceremonies upon the completion of the building

were most impressive. Thenceforth this temple was the center of the Jewish worship and of the national life.

For the purpose of extending his commerce Solomon built fleets upon the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The most remote regions of Asia and Africa were visited by his ships, and their rich and wonderful products made to contribute to the wealth and glory of his kingdom. He maintained a magnificent court, and has lived in tradition as the wisest king of the East.



FIG. 51.—THE PLACE OF WAILING

Showing some of the foundation stones of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem

53. The Division of the Kingdom (about 953 B.C.).—The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings he had laid oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes that were making their very lives a burden. He replied to the petition with haste and insolence: "My father," said he, "chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."

Immediately all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up to the north of Jerusalem a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern

state, of which Samaria afterwards became the capital, was known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have maintained an empire capable of offering successful resistance to the encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land became an easy prey to the spoiler. It was henceforth the pathway of the conquering armies of the Nile and the Euphrates. Between the powerful monarchies of these regions, as between an upper and nether millstone, the little kingdoms were destined, one after the other, to be ground to pieces.

84. The Kingdom of Israel (953?–722 B.C.). — The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained its existence for about two hundred years. Many passages of its history are recitals of the struggles between the worship of Yahweh (Jehovah) and the idolatrous service of the gods of the surrounding nations. The cause of Yahweh was boldly espoused by a line of remarkable prophets, among whom Elijah and Elisha in the ninth century, and Amos and Hosea in the eighth, stand preëminent.

The little kingdom was at last overwhelmed by the Assyrian power. This happened 722 B.C., when Samaria, as we have already narrated in the history of Assyria (sec. 65), was captured by Sargon, king of Nineveh, and the flower of the people were carried away into captivity beyond the Mesopotamian rivers.

The gaps made in the population of Samaria by this deportation of its best inhabitants were filled with other subjects or captives of the Assyrian king. The descendants of these, mingled with the Israelites that were still left in the country, formed the Samaritans of the time of Christ.

85. The Kingdom of Judah (953?–586 B.C.). — This little kingdom, torn by internal religious dissensions, and often on the very verge of ruin from Egyptian or Assyrian armies, maintained an independent existence for over three centuries. But upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings.



The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, the powerful king of Babylon, in revenge for an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem and carried away a large part of the people into captivity at Babylon (sec. 76). This event virtually ended the separate political life of the Hebrew race (586 B.C.). Henceforth Judea constituted simply a province of the empires — Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman — which successively held sway over the regions of Western Asia, with, however, just one flicker of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries just preceding the birth of Christ.

It only remains to mention those succeeding events which belong rather to the story of the Jews as a people than as a nation. Upon the capture of Babylon by the Persian king Cyrus (sec. 77), that monarch permitted the exiles to return to Jerusalem and restore their temple. Jerusalem thus became again the center of the old Hebrew worship, and, although shorn of national glory, continued to be the sacred center of the ancient faith till the second generation after Christ. Then, in chastisement for repeated revolts, the city was laid in ruins by the Romans; while vast numbers of the inhabitants were slain, or perished by famine, and the remnant were driven into exile to different lands (sec. 515).

Thus by a series of unparalleled calamities were the descendants of Abraham "sifted among all nations"; but to this day they cling with a marked devotion and loyalty to the faith of their fathers.

86. Hebrew Literature. — The literature of the Hebrews is a religious one; for literature with them was in the main merely a means of inculcating religious truth or awakening devotional feeling.

This unique literature is contained in sacred books known as the *Old* or *Hebrew Testament*. In these ancient writings, histories, dramas, poems, prophecies, and personal narratives blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the migrations, the deliverances, the calamities, — all the events and religious experiences making up the checkered life of the people of Israel.

Out of the *Old* arose the *New Testament*, which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature ; for although written in the Greek language and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, still it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, the *Bible* (the Book), it remains to mention especially the *Apocrypha*, embracing a number of books that were composed after the decline of the prophetic spirit, and which show traces of the influence of Persian and of Greek thought. These books are generally regarded by the Jews and Protestants as not of divine inspiration, but in the main are considered by the Roman Catholic Church as possessing equal authority with the other books of the Bible.

Neither must we fail to mention the *Talmud*, a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions, with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book ; the writings of Philo, an illustrious Alexandrian philosopher (born about 25 B.C.) ; and the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Jewish War* by the historian Josephus, who lived and wrote at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus (sec. 515), that is, during the latter part of the first century after Christ.

87. Hebrew Religion and Morality. — The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing ; their religion forbade their making “graven images.” Their mission was to make known the idea of God as a being holy and just and compassionate and loving, — as the Universal Father whose care is over not one people alone but over all peoples and races, — and to teach men that what God requires of them is that they shall do justice and practice righteousness.

This history-making idea of God and his character, which has profoundly influenced the religious development of the race, was the most fruitful element in the bequest which the ancient

Hebrews made to the younger Aryan world of Europe, and is largely what entitles them to the preëminent place they hold in the history of humanity.

88. Ideas of the Future Life. — Speaking of the Hebrew conception of the after life, Sir George Rawlinson says: "How it happened that in Egyptian thought the future life occupied so large a space, and was felt to be so real and so substantial, while among the Hebrews and the other Semites it remained, even after contact with Egypt, so vague and shadowy, is a mystery which it is impossible to penetrate."

The earliest Hebrew conception of the future life was like that of the Babylonians. Sheol was a vague and shadowy region beneath the earth, a sad and dismal place. "The small and the great were there." There was no distinction even between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down into the "pit." The good man was thought to receive his reward in long life and prosperity here on earth. But with the moral and religious development of the nation, under the leadership and inspiration of their great prophets and teachers, the Hebrews attained a different conception of life beyond the tomb, so that it was finally by them that the doctrine of immortality and of a coming judgment was spread abroad in the Western world.

Selection from the Sources. — The *Old Testament*, 2 Samuel i. 17-27, David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (see Nathaniel Schmidt, *The Message of the Poets*, pp. 364-367); 1 Kings v-viii, the building and the dedication by Solomon of the Temple at Jerusalem.

References (Modern). — SAYCE, *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*. KENT, *A History of the Hebrew People*, 2 vols. RENAN, *History of the People of Israel*, 4 vols. CORNILL, *History of the People of Israel*. BOUGHTON, *History of Ancient Peoples*, pp. 345-427. HILPRECHT, *Recent Research in Bible Lands and Explorations in Bible Lands in the Nineteenth Century*. Consult Tables of Contents. MONTEFIORE, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*. BALL, *Light from the East*. DUFF, *The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*. BUDDE, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*. CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*. MOULTON, *The Literary Study of the Bible*. The special student will of course consult MCCURDY, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*.

Topics for Special Study.—1. Influence of early Babylonian culture on Israel. 2. The Exile in Babylon and its influence upon the development of the Hebrew religion. 3. Earlier Hebrew ideas of the future life. 4. Temple and priest. 5. Prophecy and prophet. 6. Hebrew laws respecting usury, the land, and the bondsman.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHŒNICIANS

89. The Land and the People. — Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken seacoast lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the ranges of Mount Lebanon.¹ One of the most noted productions of the country was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The “cedars of Lebanon” hold a prominent place both in the history and in the poetry of the East.

Another celebrated product of the country was the Tyrian purple, which was obtained from several varieties of the murex, a species of shellfish, secured at first along the Phœnician coast, but later sought in distant waters, especially in the Grecian seas.

The Phœnicians were of Semitic race. Their ancestors lived in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf. From their seats in that region they migrated westward, like the ancestors of the Hebrews, and reached the Mediterranean before the light of history had fallen upon its shores.

90. Tyre and Sidon. — The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They constituted merely a sort of league or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the leadership of Tyre or of Sidon, the two chief cities. The place of supremacy in the confederation was at first held by Sidon, but later by Tyre.



FIG. 52. — SPECIES OF THE MUREX. (After *Maspero*)

The mollusks which secrete the famous purple dye of the ancient Tyrians

¹ In the study of this chapter, the maps which will be found at pp. 78 and 154 should be used.

From the 11th to the 4th century B.C. Tyre controlled, almost without dispute on the part of Sidon, the affairs of Phœnicia. During this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchants spread the fame of the little island capital throughout the world. She was queen and mistress of the Mediterranean.

During all the last centuries of their existence the Phœnician cities were, most of the time, tributary to one or another of the great monarchies about them. They acknowledged in turn the suzerainty of the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian kings. Alexander the Great after a memorable siege captured the city of Tyre and reduced it to ruins (332 B.C.). She recovered in a measure from this blow, but never regained the place she had previously held in the world. The larger part of the site of the once great city is now "bare as the top of a rock," — a place where the fishermen that still frequent the spot spread their nets to dry.

91. Phœnician Commerce. — When we catch our first glimpse of the Eastern Mediterranean, about 1500 B.C., it is dotted with the sails of Phœnician navigators. It was natural that the people

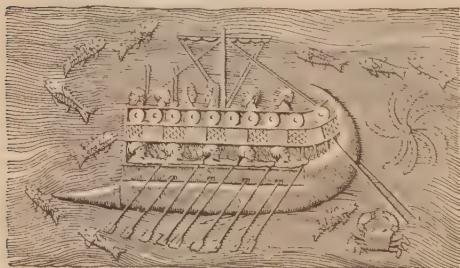


FIG. 53. — PHŒNICIAN GALLEY. (From an Assyrian sculpture)

of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them out from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension of their land domains. At

the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise, while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships.

The Phœnicians, indeed, seem to have been the first navigators of the Great Sea who pushed out boldly from the shore and made

voyages out of sight of land. It is believed that they were the first to steer their ships at night by the Polar Star, since the Greeks called this the Phœnician Star.

One of the earliest centers of activity of the Phœnician traders was the Ægean Sea. Here they exchanged wares with the natives, searched the seas for the purple-yielding mollusks, and mined the hills for gold. Herodotus avers that a whole mountain on one of the islands was turned upside down by them in their search for ores.

Towards the close of the tenth or the ninth century B.C. the jealousy of the Greek city-states, now growing into maritime power, closed the Ægean against the Phœnician adventurers. They then pushed out into the Western Mediterranean. One chief object of their quest here was tin, which was in great demand on account of its use in the manufacture of bronze. The precious metal was first supplied by the mines opened in the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. Later the bold Phœnician sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought back from those stormy seas the tin gathered in the mines of Britain.²

92. Phœnician Colonies. — Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established naval stations and trading posts. The sites chosen were generally islands or promontories easily defended, and visible from afar to approaching ships.

Settlements were planted in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and on other islands of the Ægean Sea, and probably even in Greece itself.

² From the mother city Tyre and from all her important colonies and trading posts radiated long routes of land travel by which articles were conveyed from the interior of the continents to the Mediterranean seaboard. Thus amber was brought from the Baltic, through the forests of Germany, to the mouth of the river Padus (Po), in Italy; while the tin of the British Isles was, at first, brought across Gaul to the outlets of the Rhone, and there loaded upon the Phœnician ships. The trade with India was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, great caravans bearing the burdens from the ports at the heads of these seas across the Arabian and Syrian deserts to the warehouses of Tyre. Other routes led from Phœnicia across the Mesopotamian plains to Armenia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and thence on into the heart of Central Asia.

The shores of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were fringed with Phœnician colonies ; while the coast of North Africa was dotted with such great cities as Utica, Hippo, and Carthage. Colonies

BABYLONIAN ARCHAIC	PHŒNICIAN, OLD ARAMÆAN	BABYLONIAN. NAMES AND SOUNDS	SEMITIC NAMES
✳	✳ ✳	<i>hal</i> (<i>āl</i> , <i>āl</i>), to flow ; running water	<i>al-p</i>
⤴	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂	<i>ba</i> (<i>t</i>), <i>bī</i> (<i>t</i>), slit	<i>bēt</i>
𐤇	𐤈 𐤉 𐤊	<i>gam</i> , bend, bow	<i>gīm-l</i>
𐤋 𐤌	𐤍 𐤎	<i>ku</i> (<i>n</i>), <i>gush</i> , bright, <i>ge</i> , ear	<i>dal-t</i>
𐤏 𐤐	𐤑 𐤒 𐤓	<i>da</i> , make, <i>dal</i> , shine, DALLU	

were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic sea-board. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz.

PHŒNICIAN	ANCIENT GREEK	LATER GREEK	ENGLISH
𐤀 𐤁	Α ΔΑΔ	Α Α	A
𐤂	Β Β	B	B
𐤇 𐤈	Γ Δ Γ C	Γ	C
𐤌 𐤍	Δ Δ ∇ D	Δ	D
𐤎	Ε Β Ε Δ Ε	E Ε	E
𐤏	Ζ F		F
𐤓	Σ Ζ Z	Z	Z

FIG. 54.—TABLE SHOWING (1) POSSIBLE DERIVATION OF THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET FROM CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS (after Ball) ; AND (2) DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS FROM THE PHŒNICIAN

93. Arts disseminated by the Phœnicians ; the Alphabet. — Commerce has been called the path-breaker of civilization. Certainly it was such in antiquity when the Phœnician traders carried in their ships to every Mediterranean land the wares of the workshops of Tyre and Sidon,

and along with these material products carried also the seeds of culture from the ancient lands of Egypt and Babylonia. In truth we can scarcely overrate the influence of Phœnician maritime enterprise upon the distribution of the arts and the spread of culture among the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. "Egypt

and Assyria," says Lenormant, "were the birthplace of material civilization; the Phœnicians were its missionaries."

Most fruitful of all the arts which the Phœnicians introduced among the peoples with whom they traded was the art of alphabetic writing. As early at least as 900 B.C. they were in possession of an alphabet. Now wherever the Phœnician traders went they carried this alphabet as "one of their exports." It was through them that the Greeks received it; the Greeks passed it on to the Romans, and the Romans gave it to the German peoples. In this way our alphabet came to us from the ancient East. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this gift of the alphabet to the Aryan-speaking peoples of Europe. Without it their civilization could never have become so rich and progressive as it did.

Among the other elements of culture which the Phœnicians carried to the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, the most important, after alphabetical writing, were systems of weights and measures. These are indispensable agents of civilization, and hold some such relation to the development of trade and commerce as letters hold to the development of the intellectual life.

Phœnician commercial enterprise was also one of the agencies through which the peoples of Europe learned the use of bronze, which marks an epoch in their growing culture. Bronze articles of Phœnician workmanship are found in the earliest tombs of the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Bible*, Ezek. xxvii. A striking portrayal by the prophet of the commerce, the trade relations, and the wealth of Tyre. *The Voyage of Hanno*, a record of a Phœnician exploring expedition down the western coast of Africa. A translation of this celebrated record will be found in Rawlinson's *History of Phœnicia*, pp. 389-392.

References (Modern). — RAWLINSON, *History of Phœnicia*, and *The Story of Phœnicia*. KENRICK, *Phœnicia*. Old (1855), but still valuable. LENORMANT and CHEVALLIER, *Ancient History of the East*, vol. ii. Consult Table of Contents. SAYCE, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chap. iii. DUNCKER, *History of Antiquity*, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. xi and xii.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The trade routes of the Phœnicians. 2. The Phœnicians and the alphabet. 3. The Tyrian purple dye.

CHAPTER IX

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

(558-330 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

94. Kinship of the Medes and Persians.—It was in very remote times that some Aryan tribes, separating themselves from the other members of the Aryan family, sought new abodes on the plateau of Iran. The tribes that settled in the south became known as the Persians; while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northwest were called Medes. The names of the two peoples were always very closely associated, as in the familiar legend, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

95. The Medes at first the Leading Race.—Although the Persians were destined to become the dominant tribe of all the Iranian Aryans, still the Medes were at first the leading people. Cyaxares (625-585 B.C.) was their first prominent leader and king. We have already seen how, aided by the Babylonians, he overthrew the last king of Nineveh, and burned that capital (sec. 68). The destruction of the Assyrian power resulted in the speedy extension of the frontiers of the new Median Empire to the river Halys in Asia Minor.

96. Cyrus the Great (558-529 B.C.) founds a Great World Empire.—The leadership of the Median chieftains was of short duration. A certain Cyrus, king of Anshan, in Elam, overthrew their power, and assumed the headship of both Medes and Persians. Through his energy and soldierly genius Cyrus soon built up an empire more extended than any over which the scepter had yet been swayed by Oriental monarch, or indeed, so far as we know, by any ruler before his time.

After the conquest of Media and the acquisition of the provinces formerly ruled by the Median princes, Cyrus rounded out his empire by the conquest of Lydia and Babylonia.

Lydia was a country in the western part of Asia Minor. It was a land highly favored by nature. It embraced two rich river valleys, — the plains of the Hermus and the Cayster, — which, from the mountains inland, slope gently to the island-dotted Ægean. The Pactolus, and other tributaries of the streams we have named, rolled down "golden sands," while the mountains were rich in the precious metals. The coast region did not at first belong to Lydia; it was held by the Greeks, who had fringed it with cities. The capital of the country was Sardis, whose citadel was set on a lofty and precipitous rock.

The Lydian throne was at this time held by Cræsus (560–546 B.C.), the last and most renowned of his race. Under him the Lydian dominions attained their greatest extension, embracing all the states of Asia Minor west of the Halys, save Lycia. The tribute Cræsus collected from the Greek cities, which he had subjugated, and the revenues he derived from his gold mines, rendered him the richest monarch of his times, so that his name has passed into the proverb "rich as Cræsus."

Now the fall of Media, which had been a friendly and allied power, and the extension thereby of the domains of the conqueror Cyrus to the eastern frontiers of Lydia, naturally filled Cræsus with alarm. He at once formed an alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and with Amasis, king of Egypt, both of whom, like Cræsus, were filled with apprehensions respecting the safety of their own kingdoms. Furthermore, Cræsus formed an alliance with the Greek city of Sparta, which was now rising into prominence.

Without waiting for his allies to join him, Cræsus immediately crossed the river Halys and threw down the gage of battle to Cyrus. But he had miscalculated the strength and activity of his enemy. Cyrus defeated the Lydians in the open field, and after a short siege captured Sardis. Lydia now became a part of the Persian Empire (546 B.C.).

This war between Crœsus and Cyrus derives a special importance from the fact that it brought the Persian Empire into contact with the Greek cities of Asia, and thus led on directly to that memorable struggle between Greece and Persia known as the Græco-Persian War, the incidents of which we shall narrate in a later chapter.



FIG. 55. — CRÆSUS ON THE PYRE¹

The fall of Lydia was quickly followed by that of Babylonia (in 538 B.C.), as has been already related as part of the story of the Chaldean Empire (sec. 77). Cyrus had now rounded out his dominions.

Tradition says that Cyrus lost his life while leading an expedition against some Scythian tribes in the North. He was buried at Pasargadæ, the old Persian capital, and there his tomb stands to-day, surrounded by the ruins of the magnificent buildings with which he adorned that city. The following cuneiform inscription may still be read upon a pillar near the sepulcher: "I am Cyrus, the king, the Akhæmenian."



FIG. 56. — THE TOMB OF CYRUS AT PASARGADÆ

Notwithstanding his seeming love for war and conquest, Cyrus possessed a kindly and generous disposition. Almost universal

¹ Legend tells how Cyrus caused a pyre to be built on which to burn Crœsus, and how Apollo, because the king had made rich gifts to his shrine, put out the kindling fire by a sudden downpour of rain.

testimony has ascribed to him the purest and most beneficent character of any Eastern monarch.

97. **Reign of CambySES** (529-522 B.C.).—Cyrus the Great left two sons, CambySES and Smerdis; the former, as the elder, inherited the scepter and the title of king. He began a despotic and unfortunate reign by causing his brother, whose influence he feared, to be secretly put to death.

With far less ability than his father for their execution, CambySES conceived even vaster projects of conquest and dominion. He determined to add the country of Africa to his vast inheritance. Upon some slight pretext he invaded Egypt, captured Memphis, and ascended the Nile to Thebes. From here he sent an army of fifty thousand men to take possession of the oasis of Ammon,² in the Libyan desert. Of the vast host not a man returned from the expedition. It is thought that the army was overwhelmed and buried by one of those fatal storms, called simoons, that so frequently sweep over those dreary wastes of sand.

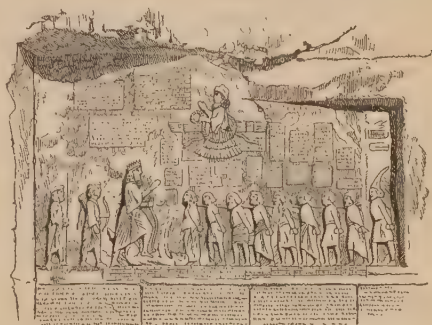


FIG. 57. — INSURGENT CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE DARIUS

(From the Behistun Rock)

Beneath the foot of the king is Gomates, the false Smerdis

After a short, unsatisfactory stay in Egypt, CambySES set out on his return to Persia. While on his way home, news was brought to him that his brother Smerdis had usurped the throne (an impostor, Gomates by name, who resembled the murdered Smerdis, had personated him, and actually seized the scepter). Entirely disheartened by this startling intelligence, CambySES in despair took his own life.

² This oasis was to serve as a basis of operations against Carthage, which CambySES was planning to attack by way of the desert.

98. Reign of Darius I (521-484 B.C.).—The Persian nobles soon rescued the scepter from the grasp of the false Smerdis, and their leader, Darius, took the throne. The first act of Darius was to punish those who had taken part in the usurpation of Smerdis.

With quiet and submission secured throughout the empire, Darius gave himself, for a time, to the arts of peace. He built a palace at Susa, and erected magnificent structures at Persepolis; reformed the administration of the government, making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the second founder of the Persian Empire"; established post roads, instituted a coinage for the realm, and upon the great Behistun Rock, a lofty,

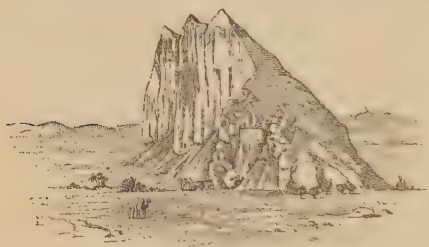


FIG. 58. — THE BEHISTUN ROCK
(After Rawlinson-Hilprecht)

smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, caused to be inscribed a record of all his achievements.

And now the Great King, lord of Western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the

far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. He determined to extend the frontiers of his empire into India and Europe alike.

At one blow Darius brought the region of Northwestern India known as the Punjab under his authority, and thus by a single effort pushed out the eastern boundary of his empire so that it included one of the richest countries of Asia.

Two campaigns in Europe followed. The second brought Darius into contact with the Greeks, of whom we shall soon hear much. How the armaments of the Great King fared at the hands of this freedom-loving people, who now appear for the first time as prominent participators in large world affairs, will be told when we come to narrate the history of the Greek city-states.





We need now simply note the result, — the decisive defeat of the Persians at Marathon (490 B.C.). In the midst of preparations for another attempt upon Greece, and with the Egyptians in revolt, Darius suddenly died, in the year 484 B.C.

99. Reign of Xerxes I (484–464 B.C.). — The successor of Darius, his son Xerxes, resolved to carry into execution his father's purpose of revenge. After crushing the Egyptian revolt and suppressing another uprising in Babylonia, the Great King was free to devote his attention to the distant Greeks. At the head of an immense army he crossed the Hellespont and invaded Greece. But in the naval battle of Salamis (sec. 212) his fleet was cut to

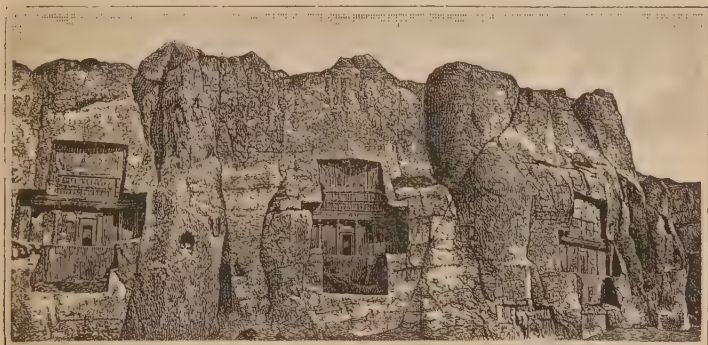


FIG. 59.— ROYAL PERSIAN TOMBS NEAR PERSEPOLIS. (After Dieulafoy)

pieces by the Grecian ships, and the king, making a precipitate retreat into Asia, hastened to his capital Susa. Here, in the pleasures of the harem, he sought solace for his wounded pride and broken hopes. He at last fell a victim to palace intrigue, being slain in his own chamber (464 B.C.).

100. The Decline and Fall of the Persian Empire. — The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. The last one hundred and forty years of the existence of the empire was a time of weakness and anarchy, which presents nothing that need claim our attention in this place.

In the year 334 B.C. Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, led a small army of Greeks and Macedonians across the Hellespont

intent upon the conquest of Asia. His succeeding movements and the establishment of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian Empire are matters that properly belong to Grecian history, and will be related at a later stage of our story.

II. GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND ARTS

101. The Government.—Before the reign of Darius I the government of the Persian Empire was like that of all the great empires that had preceded it, save the Assyrian in a measure and for a short space of time; that is to say, it consisted of a great number of subject states, which were allowed to retain their own kings and manage their own affairs, only paying tribute and homage and furnishing contingents, when called upon in time of war, to the Great King.

We have seen how weak was this rude and primitive type of government. Darius I, who possessed rare ability as an organizer, remodeled the system of his predecessors, and actually realized for the Persian monarchy what Tiglath-Pileser III had long before attempted, but only with partial and temporary success, to accomplish for the Assyrian (sec. 64).

The system of government which Darius thus first made a real fact in the world is known as the *satrapal*, a form represented to-day by the Turkish Empire. The entire kingdom was divided into twenty or more provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign, and were thus rendered his subservient creatures. Each province contributed to the income of the king a stated revenue.

There were provisions in the system by which the king might be apprised of the disloyalty of his satraps. Thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together, and the facility with which almost sovereign states—which was the real character of the different parts of the empire under the old system—could plan and execute revolt, was removed.

102. **Literature and Religion: Zoroastrianism.** — The literature of the ancient Persians was mostly religious. Their sacred book is called the *Zend Avesta*.

The religious system of the Persians, as taught in the *Zend Avesta*, is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its supposed founder. This great reformer and teacher is believed to have lived and taught about six centuries before our era.

Zoroastrianism was a system of belief known as dualism. Opposed to the "good spirit," Ormazd (Ahura Mazda), there was a "dark spirit," Ahriman (Angro-Mainyus), who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ormazd by creating all evil things — storm, drought, pestilence, noxious animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery; in the present neither had the decided advantage; but in the near future Ormazd would triumph over Ahriman, and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ormazd by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice in his own bosom; to reclaim the earth from barrenness; and to kill all noxious animals — frogs, toads, snakes, lizards — which Ahriman had created. Herodotus saw with amazement the priests armed with weapons and engaged in slaying these animals as a "pious pastime." Agriculture was a sacred calling, for the husbandman was reclaiming the ground from the curse of the dark spirit.⁸



FIG. 60. — THE KING IN COMBAT WITH A MONSTER
(From Persepolis)

⁸ The belief of the Zoroastrians in the sacredness of the elements — earth, water, fire, and air — created a difficulty in regard to the disposal of dead bodies. They

103. Architecture. — The simple religious faith of the Persians discouraged the erection of temples; their sacred architecture included scarcely more than altar and pedestal. The palace of the monarch was the structure that absorbed the best efforts of the Persian architect.

In imitation of the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates, the Persian kings raised their palaces upon lofty terraces or platforms. But upon the table-lands they used stone instead of brick, and at Persepolis built for the substruction of their palaces an

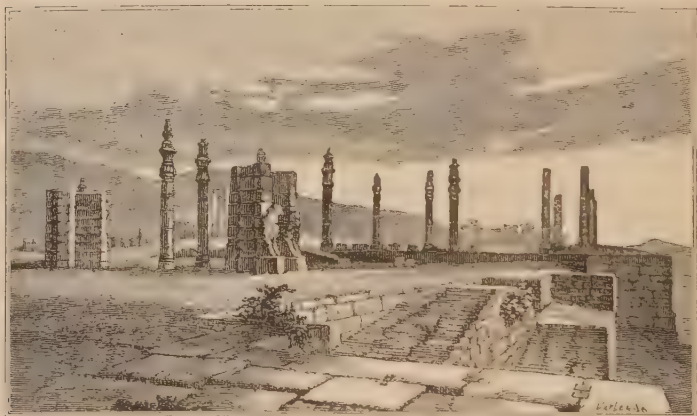


FIG. 61. — THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

Immense platform of massive masonry, which, with its sculptured stairways, is one of the most wonderful monuments of the world's ancient builders. This terrace, which is uninjured by the 2300 years that have passed since its erection, has been pronounced by competent judges the finest work of the kind that the ancient or even the modern world can boast.

Surmounting this platform are the ruins of the residences of several of the Persian monarchs. The ruins consist mainly of

could neither be burned, buried, thrown into the water, nor left to decay in a sepulchral chamber or in the open air without polluting one or another of the sacred elements. So they were usually given to the birds and wild beasts.

lofty columns and great monolithic door and window frames. Colossal winged bulls, copied from the Assyrians, stand as wardens at the gateway of the ruined palaces.

Numerous sculptures decorate the faces of the walls, and these throw much light upon the manners and customs of the ancient Persian kings. The successive palaces increase, not only in size, but in sumptuousness of adornment, thus registering those changes which may be traced in the national history. The residence of Cyrus was small and modest, while that of Artaxerxes III (359–338 B.C.) equaled in size the great palace of the Assyrian Sargon.

Again, the sculptures that adorn the residences of the earlier kings, Cyrus and Darius, represent the monarch engaged in bold and manly combat with lions and other monsters; while already in the halls and chambers of the palace of Xerxes these give place to representations of servants bearing articles of luxury intended for royal use. “A tone of mere sensual enjoyment is thus given to the later edifice which is far from characterizing the earlier; and the decline at the court, which history indicates as rapid about this period, is seen to have stamped itself, as such changes usually do, upon the national architecture” (Rawlinson).

Selections from the Sources. — HERODOTUS, i. 46–55 and 71–91, on Cyrus and Cræsus. HARPER'S *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 174–187, “The Large Inscription of Darius from Behistun.” (We make no reference either here or in the following chapter to the *Sacred Books of the East*, for the reason that these translations are in general not suited to young readers.)

References (Modern). — MASPERO, *The Passing of the Empires*, chap. vi. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iii, pp. 84–539. SAYCE, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chaps. iv and v. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, chap. xii. JACKSON, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The sacredness of the elements, — fire, earth, water, and air. 2. Dualism in the Persian religion. 3. The *Zend Avesta*. 4. The royal road from Susa to Sardis. 5. The satrapal system of government. 6. The ruins of Persepolis.

CHAPTER X

INDIA AND CHINA

I. INDIA

104. The Aryan Invasion. — At the time of the great Aryan dispersion (sec. 19), some Aryan bands, journeying from the north-west, settled first the plains of the Indus and then occupied the valley of the Ganges. They reached the banks of the latter river as early probably as 1500 B.C.

These fair-skinned invaders found the land occupied by a dark-skinned, non-Aryan race, whom they either subjugated and reduced to serfdom, or drove out of the great river valleys into the mountains and the half-desert plains of the peninsula.

In the course of time the conquered peoples, who doubtless formed the great majority of the population, adopted the language and the religion of the invaders. "They became Aryans in all things save in descent."¹

105. The Development of the System of Castes. — The conflict and mingling of races in Northern India caused the population to become divided into four "social grades" or hereditary classes, based on color. These were (1) the nobles or warriors; (2) the Brahmans or priests;² (3) the peasants and traders; and (4) the Sudras. The last were of non-Aryan descent. Below these several grades were the Pariahs or outcasts, the lowest and most despised of the native races. The marked characteristics of this graded society were that intermarriage between the classes was forbidden, and that the members of different classes must not eat together or come into personal contact.

¹ The unsubdued tribes of Southern India, known as Dravidians, retained their native speech. Over 54,000,000 of the present population of India are non-Aryan in language.

² At a later period the Brahmans arrogated to themselves the highest rank.

The development of this system, which is known as the system of castes, is one of the most important facts in the history of India. The system, however, has undergone great modification in the lapse of ages, and is now less rigid than in earlier times. At the present day it rests largely on an industrial basis, the members of every trade and occupation forming a distinct caste. The number of castes is now about 2000.

106. The Vedas and the Vedic Religion. — The most important of the sacred books of the Hindus are called the *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanscrit language, which is the oldest form of Aryan speech preserved to us. The *Rig Veda*, the most ancient of the books, is made up of hymns which were composed chiefly during the long period, perhaps a thousand years or more, while the Aryans were slowly working their way from the mountains on the northwest of India across the peninsula to the Ganges. These hymns are filled with memories of the long conflict of the fair-faced Aryans with the dark-faced aborigines. The Himalayas, through whose gloomy passes the early emigrants journeyed, must have deeply impressed the wanderers, for the poets often refer to the great dark mountains.

The early religion of the Indian Aryans was a worship of the powers of nature. As this system characterized the period when the oldest Vedic hymns were composed, it is known as the Vedic religion.

107. Brahmanism and the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls. — As time passed this nature worship of the Vedic period developed into a form of religion known as Brahmanism. It is so named from Brahma, which is the Hindu name for the Supreme Being. Below Brahma there are many gods.

A chief doctrine of Brahmanism is that all life, apart from Brahma, is evil, is travail and sorrow. We can make this idea plain to ourselves by recalling what are our own ideas of this earthly life. We call it a feverish dream, a journey through a vale of sorrow. Now the Hindu regards *all* existence, whether in this world or in another, in the same light. The only way to redemption from evil lies in communion with and final reabsorption

into Brahma. But this return to Brahma is dependent upon the soul's purification, for no impure soul can be reabsorbed into Brahma. The purity of soul required for reunion with Brahma can best be attained by contemplation, self-control, and renunciation; hence the asceticism of the Hindu devotee.

As only a few in each generation reach the goal, it follows that the great majority of men must be born again, and yet again, until all evil has been purged away from the soul and eternal repose found in Brahma. He who lives a virtuous life is at death born into some higher caste, and thus he advances towards the longed-for end. The evil man, however, is born into a lower caste, or perhaps his soul enters some unclean animal. This doctrine of rebirth is known as the transmigration of souls.

In the early period only the first three classes were admitted to the benefits of religion. The Sudras and the outcasts were forbidden to read the sacred books, and for any one of the upper classes to teach a serf how to expiate sin was a crime.

108. Buddhism. — In the fifth century before our era a great teacher and reformer named Gautama (about 557-477 B.C.), but better known as Buddha, that is the Enlightened, arose in India. He was more Christlike than any other teacher whose life and words are known to us. He was born a prince, but legend represents him as being so touched by the universal misery of mankind that he voluntarily abandoned the luxury of his home and spent his life in seeking out and making known to men a new and better way of salvation. His creed was very simple. What he taught the people was that they should seek salvation — that is, deliverance from existence, which like the Brahman he felt to be an evil — not through sacrifices and rites and self-torture, but through honesty and purity of heart, through charity and tenderness and compassion toward all creatures that have life.⁸

Buddha admitted all classes to the benefits of religion, the poor outcast as well as the high-born Brahman, and thus Buddhism

⁸ The aim, in Buddha's system, of moral striving is to suppress desire, and by suppressing desire to gain the sought-for deliverance in *Nirvana* ("extinction"). Buddha did not recognize the existence of any god, and enjoined upon his disciples not to offer any prayers. His teachings have been greatly modified by his followers.

was a revolt against the earlier exclusive system of Brahmanism. It holds somewhat the same relation to Brahmanism that Christianity bears to Judaism.

Buddhism gradually gained ascendancy over Brahmanism; but after some centuries the Brahmins regained their power, and by the eighth century after Christ the faith of Buddha had died out or had been crowded out of almost every part of India.

But Buddhism has a profound missionary spirit, like that of Christianity, Buddha having commanded his disciples to make known to all men the way to salvation; and consequently during the very period when India was being lost, the missionaries of the reformed creed were spreading the teachings of their master among the peoples of all the countries of Eastern Asia, so that to-day Buddhism is the religion of almost one third of the human race. Buddha has probably nearly as many followers as both Christ and Mohammed together.

During its long contact with Buddhism, Brahmanism was greatly modified, and caught much of the gentler spirit of the new faith, so that modern Brahmanism is a very different religion from that of the ancient system; hence it is usually given a new name, being known as Hinduism.⁴

109. Alexander's Invasion of India (327 B.C.). — Although we find obscure notices of India in the records of the early historic peoples of Western Asia, yet it is not until the invasion of the peninsula by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. that the history of the Indian Aryans comes in significant contact with that of the progressive nations of the West.

From that day to our own its systems of philosophy, its wealth, and its commerce have been more or less important factors in universal history. Columbus was seeking a short all-sea route to this country when he found the New World. And in the upbuilding of the imperial greatness of the England of to-day, the wealth and trade of India have played no inconsiderable part.

⁴ Among the customs introduced or revived by the Brahmins during this period was the rite of suttee, or the voluntary burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband.

II. CHINA

110. General Remarks: the Beginning. — China was the cradle of a very old civilization, older perhaps than that of any other lands save Egypt and Babylonia; yet Chinese affairs have not until recently exercised any direct influence upon the general current of history. All through the later ancient and mediæval times the country lay, vague and mysterious, in the haze of the world's horizon. During the Middle Ages the land was known to Europe under the name of Cathay.

The beginning of the Chinese nation was a band of Turanian wanderers who came from the West into the Yellow River valley, probably prior to 3000 B.C. These immigrants pushed out or absorbed the aborigines whom they found in the land, and laid the basis of institutions that have endured to the present day.

111. Dynastic History. — The government of China from a remote period has been a parental monarchy. The emperor is the father of his people. But though an absolute prince, he dare not rule tyrannically; he must rule justly and in accordance with the ancient customs and laws.

The Chinese have books that purport to give the history of the different dynasties that have ruled in the land from a vast antiquity; but these records are largely mythical. While it is possible to glean some assured historic facts from the third and second millenniums B.C., it is not until we reach the eighth century B.C. that we tread on firm historical ground; and even then we meet with little of interest in the dynastic history of the country until we come to the reign of Che Hwang-te (246–210 B.C.). This energetic ruler consolidated the imperial power, and executed great works of internal improvement, such as roads and canals. As a barrier against the incursions of the Huns, he began the erection of the celebrated Chinese Wall, a great rampart extending for about 1500 miles along the northern frontier of the country.⁵

⁵ The Great Wall is one of the most remarkable works of man. "It is," says Dr. Williams, "the only artificial structure which would arrest attention in a hasty survey of the globe."

From the strong reign of Che Hwang-te to the end of the period covered by ancient history, Chinese dynastic records present no matters of universal interest that need here occupy our attention.

112. Chinese Writing. — It is nearly certain that the art of phonetic writing was known among the Chinese as early as 2000 B.C. The system employed is curiously cumbrous. In the absence of an alphabet, each word of the language is represented upon the written page by means of a symbol, or combination of symbols; this, of course, requires that there be as many symbols or characters as there are words in the language. The number sanctioned by good use is about 25,000; but counting obsolete signs, the number amounts to over 50,000. A knowledge of 5000 or 6000 characters, how-

ever, enables one to read and write without difficulty. The nature of the signs shows conclusively that the Chinese system of writing, like that of

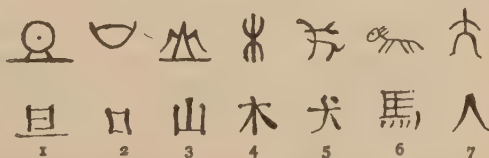


FIG. 62.—SHOWING THE DERIVATION OF MODERN CHINESE CHARACTERS FROM EARLIER PICTORIAL WRITING.⁶ (From *Deniker*)

all others with which we are acquainted, was at first pure picture writing (sec. 12). Time and use have worn the pictorial symbols to their present form.

This Chinese system of representing thought, cumbrous and inconvenient as it is, is employed at the present time by one third of the human race.

Printing from blocks was practiced in China as early as the sixth century of our era, and printing from movable types as early as the tenth or eleventh century, — that is to say, about four hundred years before the same art was invented in Europe.

113. The Teachers Confucius and Mencius. — The great teacher of the Chinese was Confucius (551-478 B.C.). He was not a

⁶ The upper line shows the earlier forms: 1, morning; 2, mouth; 3, mountain; 4, tree; 5, dog; 6, horse; 7, man.

prophet or revealer; he laid no claims to a supernatural knowledge of God or of the hereafter; he said nothing of an Infinite Spirit, and but little of a future life. His cardinal precepts were obedience to parents and superiors, and reverence for the ancients and imitation of their virtues. He himself walked in the old paths, and thus added the force of example to that of precept. He gave the Chinese the Golden Rule, stated negatively: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The influence of Confucius has been greater than that of any other teacher excepting Christ and perhaps Buddha.

Another great teacher of the Chinese was Mencius (372-288 B.C.). He was a disciple of Confucius and a scarcely less revered philosopher and moral teacher.

114. Chinese Literature; the Burning of the Books; Influence of this Literature. — The most highly prized portion of Chinese literature is embraced in what is known as the Five Classics and the Four Books, called collectively the *Nine Classics*. A considerable part of the material of the Five Classics was collected and edited by Confucius. The Four Books, though not written by Confucius, yet bear the impress of his mind and thought, just as the Gospels teach the mind of Christ. The cardinal virtue inculcated by all the sacred writings is filial piety.

During the reign of Che Hwang-te (sec. 111), Chinese literature suffered a great disaster. That despot, for the reason that the teachers in their opposition to him were constantly quoting the ancient writings against his innovations, ordered the chief historical books to be destroyed. Those who refused to give up their books he sent to work upon the Great Wall. But the people concealed the books in the walls of their houses, or better still hid them away in their memories; and in this way the priceless inheritance of antiquity was preserved until the storm had passed.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which the Nine Classics have had upon the Chinese nation. For more than 2000 years these writings have been the Chinese Bible. But their influence has not been wholly good. The Chinese in strictly obeying the injunction to walk in the old ways, to conform to the

customs of the ancients, have failed to mark out any new foot-paths for themselves. Hence their lack of originality, their habit of imitation; hence one cause of the unchanging, unprogressive character of Chinese civilization.

115. Education and Civil Service Competitive Examinations.—China has a very ancient educational system. The land was filled with schools, academies, and colleges more than a thousand years before our era, and education is to-day more general among the Chinese than among any other pagan people. A knowledge of the sacred books is the sole passport to civil office and public employment. All candidates for places in the government must pass a series of competitive examinations in the Nine Classics. There are at the present day between two and three million persons studying for these literary tests. This system is practically the same in principle as that which we, with great difficulty, are trying to establish in connection with our own civil service.

116. The Three Religions, — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.—There are three leading religions in China, — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The great sage Confucius is revered and worshiped throughout the empire. He holds somewhat the same relation to the system that bears his name that Christ holds to that of Christianity. Taoism takes its name from Tao, the beginning of all things. It is a very curious system of mystical ideas and superstitious practices. Buddhism was introduced into China about the opening of the Christian era, and soon became widely spread.

There is one element common to all these religions, and that is the worship of ancestors. Every Chinese, whether he be a Confucianist, a Taoist, or a Buddhist, reverences his ancestors, and prays and makes offerings to their spirits.

117. Policy of Non-Intercourse.—The Chinese have always been a very self-satisfied and exclusive people. They have jealously excluded foreigners and outside influence from their country. The Great Wall with which they have hedged in their country on the north is the symbol of their policy of isolation. Doubtless this characteristic of the Chinese has been fostered by

their geographical isolation ; for great mountain barriers and wide deserts cut the country off from communication with the rest of the Asiatic continent. And then their reverence for antiquity has rendered them intolerant of innovation and change. Hence, in part, the unwillingness of the Chinese to admit into their country railroads, telegraphs, and other modern improvements. For them to adopt these new-fangled inventions would be like our adopting a new religion. Such a departure from the ways and customs of the past has in it, to their way of thinking, something akin to disrespect and irreverence for ancestors.

References (Modern). — For India : RAGOZIN, *The Story of Vedic India*. HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, chaps. i-vi. DUTT, *The Civilization of India* (Primer). RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, and *Buddhism, its History and Literature*. WARREN, *Buddhism in Translation*. HOPKINS, *The Religions of India*. ARNOLD, *The Light of Asia*. This is Buddhism idealized.

For China : WILLIAMS, *A History of China*, being the historical chapters of the author's *The Middle Kingdom*. LEGGE, *The Religions of China*. DOUGLAS, *China*. GILES, *A History of Chinese Literature*. MARTIN, *The Lore of Cathay*. DOOLITTLE, *Social Life of the Chinese*.

Topics for Special Study. — For India: 1. The Vedas. 2. Early Indian architecture. 3. The suttee. 4. The caste system. 5. The doctrine of transmigration. 6. The rise of Buddhism.

For China: 1. Confucius. 2. The Great Wall. 3. The competitive examinations. 4. The cardinal virtues. 5. Chinese writing. 6. The government. 7. Manners and customs.



PART II—GREECE

CHAPTER XI

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

118. Hellas. — The ancient people whom we call Greeks called themselves Hellenes and their land Hellas. But this term "Hellas" as used by the ancient Greeks embraced much more than modern Greece. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas." Thus the name included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Greek settlements scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine.

Yet Greece proper was the real home land of the Hellenes and the actual center of Greek life and culture. Therefore it will be necessary for us to gain at least some slight knowledge of the divisions and physical features of this country before passing to the history of the people themselves.

119. Divisions of Greece. — Long arms of the sea divide the Greek peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now generally known as the Morea, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus; that is, the Island of Pelops, from its fabled colonizer.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, is a beautiful glen, named by the ancients the Vale of Tempe, the only practicable pass by

which the plain of Thessaly can be entered from the side of the sea. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the deep recesses of its forests of oak was situated the renowned Dodonean oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts, among which were Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens. The Attic land, as we shall learn, was the central point of Greek history.

The chief districts of Southern Greece were Corinthia, Arcadia, Achæa, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis.

The main part of Corinthia formed the isthmus uniting the Peloponnesus to Central Greece. Its chief city was Corinth, the gateway of the peninsula.

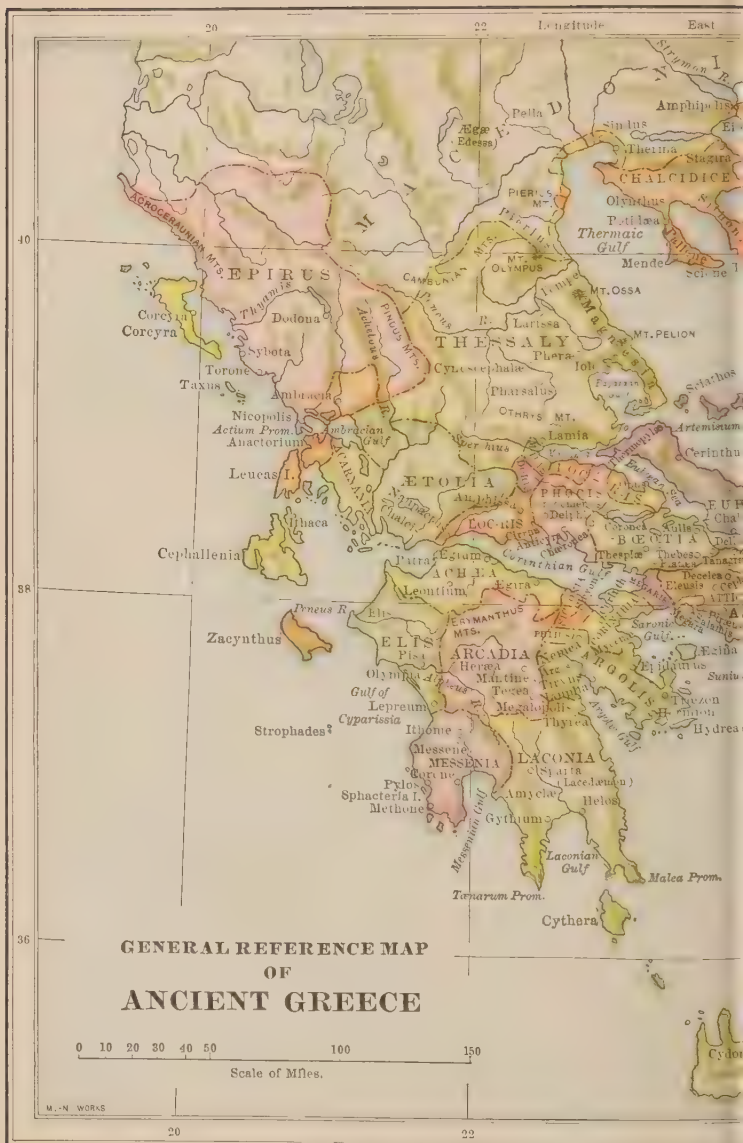
Arcadia, sometimes called "the Switzerland of the Peloponnesus," formed the heart of the peninsula. This region consists



FIG. 63.—THE LIONS' GATE AT MYCENÆ

of broken uplands shut in from the surrounding coast plains by irregular mountain walls. The inhabitants of this district, because thus isolated, were, in the general intellectual movement of the Greek race, left far behind the dwellers in the more open and favored portions of Greece. It is the rustic, simple life of the Arcadians that has given the term "Arcadian" its meaning of pastoral simplicity.

Achæa was a strip of land lying upon the Corinthian Gulf. Its cities did not take any active part in the affairs of Greece until the most brilliant period of her history was past (sec. 304).





Argolis formed a tongue of land jutting out into the Ægean. This region is noted as the home of an early prehistoric culture, and holds to-day the remains of cities — Mycenæ and Tiryns — the kings of which built great palaces, possessed vast treasures in gold and silver, and held wide sway centuries before Athens had made for herself a name and place in history. The chief city of the region during the historic period was Argos.

Laconia, or Lacedæmon, embraced a considerable part of the southern portion of the Peloponnesus. A prominent feature of



FIG. 64. — THE PLAIN OF OLYMPIA. (From Boetticher's *Olympia*)

The valley of the Alpheus in Elis, where were held the celebrated Olympic games the physical geography of this region is a deep river valley, — the valley of the Eurotas, — from whence arose the descriptive name, "Hollow Lacedæmon." This district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Messenia was a rich and fruitful region lying to the west of Laconia. It nourished a vigorous race, who in early times carried on a stubborn struggle with the Spartans, by whom they were finally overpowered.

Elis, a district on the western side of the Peloponnesus, is chiefly noted as the consecrated land which held Olympia, the

great assembling place of the Greeks on the occasion of the celebration of the most famous of their national festivals, — the so-called Olympian games.

120. Mountains. — The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece, shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races from the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

On the northern border of Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The ancient Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (it is about 9700 feet in height), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the gods.

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another in order to scale Olympus.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece, — beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains, — were believed to be the favorite haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles.

The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia.

121. The Rivers and Lakes of the Land. — Greece has no rivers large enough to be of service to commerce. Most of the streams are scarcely more than winter torrents. Among the most important streams are the Peneus, which drains the Thessalian plain; the Alpheus in Elis, on the banks of which the Olympian games were celebrated; and the Eurotas, which threads the central valley of Laconia. The Ilissus and Cephissus are little streams of Attica which owe their renown chiefly to the poets.

The lakes of Greece are in the main scarcely more than stagnant pools, the back water of spring freshets. In this respect, Greece, though a mountainous country, presents a striking contrast to Switzerland, whose numerous and deep lakes form one of the most attractive features of Swiss scenery.

122. Islands* about Greece. — Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the *Ægean* Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle round the sacred island of Delos, where was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the *Ægean*. They are simply the peaks of submerged mountain ranges, which may be regarded as a continuation beneath the sea of the mountains of Central Greece.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa, and known to-day as Euvia. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes.

In the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos. To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu. The rugged island of Ithaca was the birthplace of Odysseus (*Ulysses*), the hero of the *Odyssey*.

From the waters of the Saronic Gulf, within sight of the Attic shore, rises the island of *Ægina*, the inhabitants of which were long the rivals of the Athenians. In the same gulf, hugging the Attic coast, is Salamis, whose name commemorates a great sea fight between the Greeks and the Persians (sec. 212).

123. Climate and Productions. — There is a great variety in the climate of Greece. In the north and upon the uplands the climate is temperate, in the south semitropical. The slopes of the mountains in Northern Greece and in Arcadia support forests of beech, oak, and pine; while the southern districts of the Peloponnesus nourish the date palm, the citron, and the orange. Attica, midway between the north and the south, is the home of the olive and the fig. The vine grows luxuriantly in almost every part of the land. Wheat, barley, grapes,¹ and oil are to-day, as

¹ At the present time the seedless grape ("currant") is the most profitable of all exports.

they were in ancient times, the chief products of the country ; but flax, honey, and the products of herds of cattle and sheep have always formed a considerable part of the economic wealth of the land.

The hills of Greece supplied many of the useful metals. The ranges of the Taygetus, in Laconia, yielded iron, in which the Lacedæmonians became skillful workers. Eubœa furnished copper, which created a great industry. The hills of Southern Attica contained silver mines, which helped the Athenians to build their earliest navy (sec. 206, n. 4.). Mountains near Athens and the hills of the island of Paros afforded beautiful marbles, which made possible the creation of such splendid temples as the Parthenon.

124. Influence of the Land upon the People. — The physical geography of a country has much to do with molding the character and shaping the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities and shutting out conquering races, foster the spirit of local patriotism and preserve freedom ; the sea, inviting abroad and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Mountain walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, and this is one reason probably why the Greeks formed so many small independent states, and never could be brought to feel or to act as a single nation.²

The Grecian peninsula is, moreover, by deep arms and bays of the sea, converted into what is in effect an archipelago. Few spots in Greece are over forty miles from the sea. Hence its people were early tempted to a seafaring life — tempted to follow what Homer calls the “ wet paths ” of Ocean, to see whither they might lead. Intercourse with the old civilizations of the Orient

² The history of the cantons of Switzerland affords a somewhat similar illustration of the influence of the physical features of a country upon the political fortunes of its inhabitants. But we must be careful not to exaggerate the influence of geography upon Greek history. For the root of feelings and sentiments which were far more potent than geographical conditions in keeping the Greek cities apart, see secs. 136 and 137.

— which Greece faces³—stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were “stepping-stones,” which invited intercourse between the settlers of Greece and the inhabitants of the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

How much the sea did in developing enterprise and intelligence in the cities of the maritime districts of Greece is shown by the contrast which the advancing culture of these regions presented to the lagging civilization of the peoples of the interior districts; as, for instance, those of Arcadia.

Again, the beauty of Grecian scenery inspired many of the most striking passages of the Greek poets; and it is thought that the exhilarating atmosphere and brilliant skies of Attica were not unrelated to the lofty achievements of the Athenian intellect. Indeed, we may almost assert that the wonderful culture of Greece was the product of a land of incomparable and varied beauties acting upon a people singularly sensitive to the influences of nature.

125. The Hellenes.—The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called by the Romans Greeks; but, as we have already learned, they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen. They were divided into four families or tribes,—the Achæans, the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Æolians.

The Achæans are represented by the Greek legends as being the dominant race in the Peloponnesus in prehistoric times. They then overshadowed to such a degree all the other tribes as to cause their name to be frequently used for the Greeks in general.

The Ionians were a many-sided, enterprising people, who, speaking broadly, were given to trade and commerce, and lived much upon the sea. They attained unsurpassed excellence in art, literature, and philosophy. The most noted Ionian city was Athens, whose story is a large part of the history of Hellas.

The Dorians, in their typical communities, present themselves to us as a conservative, practical, and unimaginative race. Their

³ That is to say, the most and best of her harbors are on her eastern shore. Greece thus turns her back, as it were, to Italy. Compare sec. 371.

speech and their art were both alike without ornament. Their education was almost wholly gymnastic and military. The most important city founded by them was Sparta, the rival of Athens.

In the different aptitudes and contrasted tendencies of these two great Hellenic families lay, in the words of the historian Ranke, "the fate of Greece." They divided Hellas into two rival parties, which, through their jealousies and contentions, finally brought to utter ruin all the bright political hopes and promises of the Hellenic race.

The Æolians formed a rather ill-defined division. In historic times the name is often made to include all Hellenes not enumerated as Ionians or Dorians.

These several tribes, united by bonds of language and religion, always regarded themselves as members of a single family. They were proud of their ancestry, and as exclusive almost as the Hebrews. All non-Hellenic people they called *Barbarians*.⁴

When the mists of antiquity first rise from Greece, about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., we discover the several families of the Hellenic race in possession of Greece proper, of the islands of the Ægean, and of the western coasts of Asia Minor. Respecting their prehistoric migrations and settlements we have little or no certain knowledge.

References. — CURTIUS,⁵ vol. i, pp. 9-46. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 141-163. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. ii and xiv. DUNCKER, vol. i, pp. 1-33. TOZER, *Classical Geography* (Primer). RICHARDSON, *Vacation Days in Greece*. Dr. Richardson was for many years Director of the American School of Archæology at Athens. His delightful sketches of excursions to interesting historical sites will give a much better idea of the physical features of Greece than all the formal descriptions of the geographers. BUTCHER, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*; for the mature student.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Greece as Europe in miniature. 2. Geography and race as factors in history. 3. Characteristics of the Greeks. See *Butcher*.

⁴ At first this term meant scarcely more than "unintelligible folk"; but later it came to express aversion and contempt.

⁵ We shall throughout cite the standard extended histories of Greece and of Rome by giving merely the author's name with volume and page.



FIG. 65. — COMBAT BETWEEN ACHILLES AND HECTOR. (From a vase)

CHAPTER XII

PREHISTORIC TIMES ACCORDING TO GREEK ACCOUNTS¹

126. Character of the Legends. — The real history of the Greeks does not begin before the eighth century B.C. All that lies back of that date is an inseparable mixture of myth, legend, and fact. Yet this shadowy period forms the background of Greek history, and we cannot understand the Greeks of historic times without some knowledge, at least, of what they believed their ancestors had done and had experienced, for these beliefs profoundly influenced their own conduct.

What has been said of the war against Troy, namely, "If not itself a fact, the Trojan War became the cause of innumerable facts," is true of the whole body of Greek legends. These tales were recited by the historian, dramatized by the tragic poet, cut in marble by the sculptor, and depicted by the painter on the walls of portico and temple. They thus constituted a very vital part of the education of every Greek, and afforded the inspiration of many a great and worthy deed.

Therefore, as a sort of prelude to the story we have to tell, we shall repeat some of the legends of the Greeks touching the beginnings of civilization in Hellas, and respecting the labors and achievements of some of their greatest national heroes. But it

¹ The prehistoric period in Greece is now commonly designated as the *Mycenæan Age*, for the reason that Mycenæ in Argolis was formerly believed to have been the center of the brilliant Bronze Age culture which characterized the second millennium B.C. in the Ægean lands. Recent discoveries in Crete, however, suggest the possibility of that island having been the radiating point of this civilization.

must be carefully borne in mind that these legends are not history. Where, however, there seems to be sufficient ground to justify an opinion, we shall suggest what may be the grain of truth in any particular legend, or what part of it may be a dim though confused remembrance of actual events.

127. Oriental Immigrants. — The legends of the Greeks represent the early growth of civilization among them as having been promoted by the settlement in Greece of Oriental immigrants, who brought with them the arts and culture of the different countries of the East.

Thus from Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of Cecropia, which became afterwards the citadel of the illustrious city of Athens.

From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes. The Phrygian Pelops, the progenitor of the renowned heroes Agamemnon and Menelaus, settled in the southern peninsula, which was called after him Peloponnesus (the Island of Pelops).

The nucleus of fact in all these legends is probably this,—that the European Greeks received certain of the elements of their culture from the East. Without doubt they got from thence letters,² a gift of incomparable value, and hints in art, besides suggestions and facts in philosophy and science.

128. The Heroes: Heracles, Theseus, and Minos. — The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semi-divine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story. Many of these personages acquired national renown and became the revered heroes of the whole Greek race.

The heroes were doubtless, in some cases, historical persons, but so much of myth and fable has gathered about their names that it is impossible to separate that which is really historical from what is purely fabulous.

² See sec. 93.

Among the most noted of the heroes are Heracles (commonly called Hercules), Theseus, and Minos.

Heracles was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing, besides various other exploits, twelve superhuman labors, — among which were the slaying of the Nemean lion, the destruction of the Lernæan hydra, the cleansing of the stables of Augeas, — and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods.

The myth of Heracles is made up in part of the very same tales that were told of the Chaldean hero Gilgamesh (sec. 60). Through the Phœnicians and the peoples of Asia Minor these stories found their way to the Greeks, who ascribed to their own Heracles the deeds of the Babylonian hero.

Theseus, a descendant of Cecrops, was the favorite hero of the Athenians, being one of their legendary kings. Among his great works were the slaying of the Minotaur, — a monster which



FIG. 66. — BATTLE BETWEEN GREEKS AND AMAZONS
(From a sarcophagus)

Minos, king of Crete, kept in a labyrinth and fed upon youths and maidens sent from Athens as a forced tribute, — the defeat of the Amazons, and the consolidation of the twelve boroughs or hamlets of Attica into a single state.

The legend of Theseus doubtless contains a substantial kernel of history. The consolidation of Attica and the founding of Athens were certainly historical events, while the slaying of the

Minotaur may be taken to symbolize the freeing of the Athenians from a tribute paid to the kings of Crete.

Minos, who has just been mentioned as the king of Crete, was made by tradition a legislator of divine wisdom, the suppressor of piracy in the Grecian seas, and the founder of the first great maritime state of Hellas.

This tradition of Minos preserves the memory of a Cretan kingdom which recent discoveries have proved was great and powerful as early as the seventeenth century before our era.³

129. The Argonautic Expedition. — Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, such as we have been naming, the legends of the Greeks tell of various memorable enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. Among these were the Argonautic Expedition and the Siege of Troy.

The tale of the Argonauts is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus, — the latter a musician of superhuman skill, the music of whose lyre moved trees and stones, — set sail in “a fifty-oared galley,” called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a “golden fleece” which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon in a grove on the eastern shores of the Euxine, — an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition was successful, and after many wonderful adventures the heroes returned in triumph with the sacred relic.

Different meanings have been given to this tale. In its later forms we may believe it to commemorate the maritime activity of the Greeks of prehistoric times in the North Ægean and the Black Sea.

130. The Trojan War (legendary date 1194–1184 B.C.). — The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination.

Ilios, or Troy, was a strong-walled city which had grown up in Asia Minor just south of the Hellespont. The traditions tell

³ The center of this early Cretan culture was Cnossus. Here have been unearthed, by Mr. A. J. Evans, the remains of a wonderful, many-chambered palace, which he believes to represent the Labyrinth of the tradition.

how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. A host of a hundred thousand warriors was speedily gathered. Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ and brother of Menelaus, was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted Achilles" of Thessaly, the "crafty Odysseus," king of Ithaca, the aged Nestor, and many more, — the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans from Aulis across the Ægean to the Trojan shores.

For ten years the Greeks and their allies hold in close siege the city of Priam. On the plains beneath the walls of the capital the warriors of the two armies fight in general battle or contend in single encounter.

At first Achilles is foremost in every fight; but a fair-faced maiden, who had fallen to him as a prize, having been taken from



FIG. 67. — BATTLE AT THE SHIPS BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND TROJANS. (After a vase painting)

him by his chief, Agamemnon, he is filled with wrath and sulks in his tent. Though the Greeks are often sorely pressed, still the angered hero refuses them his aid. At last, however, his friend Patroclus is killed by Hector, eldest son of Priam, and then Achilles goes forth to avenge his death. In a fierce combat he slays Hector, fastens his body to a chariot, and drags it thrice round the walls of Troy.

These later events, beginning with the wrath of Achilles and ending with the funeral rites of Patroclus and Hector, form the subject of the *Iliad* of Homer.

The city is at last taken through a device of the artful Odysseus, and is sacked and burned to the ground. Æneas, with his aged father Anchises and a few devoted followers, escapes, and

after long wanderings reaches the Italian land and there becomes the founder of the Roman race.

There is probably a nucleus of fact in this the most elaborate and interesting of the Grecian legends. We may believe it to be the dim recollection of a prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the natives of Asia Minor, arising from the attempt of the former to secure a foothold upon the coast. That there really was in prehistoric times in the Troad a city which was the stronghold of a powerful and rich royal race has been placed beyond doubt by the excavations and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann and others.⁴



FIG. 68. -- HISSARLIK, THE PROBABLE SITE OF ANCIENT TROY⁴
(From a photograph)

131. Return of the Grecian Chieftains. — After the fall of Troy the Grecian chieftains and princes returned home. The legends represent the gods as withdrawing their protection from the hitherto favored heroes, because they had not spared the altars of the Trojans. Consequently many of them were driven in endless wanderings over sea and land. Homer's *Odyssey* portrays the sufferings of the "much-enduring Odysseus," impelled by divine wrath to long journeyings through strange seas.

⁴ Dr. Schliemann was an enthusiastic student of Homer, who believed in the poet as a narrator of actual events. In the year 1870 he began to make excavations in the Troad (at Hissarlik), on a spot pointed out by tradition as the site of ancient Troy. His faith was largely rewarded. He found the upper part of the hill where he carried on his operations to consist of the remains of a succession of nine towns or settlements. In the second stratum from the bottom he found remains of such a character that he was led to believe that they were the actual memorials of the Troy of the *Iliad*. Besides uncovering massive walls and gateways belonging to the defensive architecture of the place, and the foundations of a palace, he exhumed numerous articles of archaic workmanship in bronze, silver, and gold, including the so-called "Treasure of Priam." Later excavations on the spot, carried on by Dr. Dörpfeld, have shown that not the "second city" but the "sixth city" was probably the one whose siege and destruction is commemorated in the *Iliad*.

In some cases, according to the tradition, advantage had been taken of the absence of the princes, and their thrones had been usurped. Thus in Argolis, Ægisthus had won the unholy love of



FIG. 69.—GRAVE CIRCLE AT MYCENÆ.⁵ (After *Tsountas-Manatt*)

Clytemnestra, wife and queen of Agamemnon, who on his return was murdered by the guilty couple.⁵ In pleasing contrast with

⁵ Accepting as historically true those legends of the Greeks which represent Argolis as having in the earliest times nourished a race of powerful rulers, and Mycenæ as having been the burial place of Agamemnon and his murdered companions, Dr. Schliemann, made confident by his wonderful discoveries at Hissarlik, began excavations at Mycenæ in the year 1876. He soon unearthed remains of an even more remarkable character than those on the supposed site of Troy. The most interesting of all the discoveries made on the spot were several tombs (Fig. 69) holding the remains of nineteen bodies, which were surrounded by an immense number of articles of gold, silver, and bronze,—golden masks and breast-

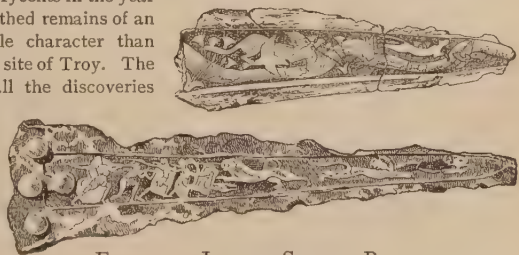


FIG. 70.—INLAID SWORD BLADES
FOUND AT MYCENÆ

plates, drinking cups of solid gold, bronze swords inlaid with gold and silver, and personal ornaments of every kind. There was one hundred pounds in weight of gold articles alone. This discovery is declared by Professor Manatt to be "the crowning historical revelation of our time." Dr. Schliemann believed that he had actually

this we have exhibited to us the constancy of Penelope, although sought by many suitors, during the absence of her husband Odysseus.

132. The Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Heraclidæ (legendary date 1104 B.C.).—We set the tradition of the return of the Heraclidæ apart from the legends just detailed, for the reason that, as we shall see in a moment, it undoubtedly contains a large historical element.

The legend tells how Heracles, an Achæan, in the times before the Trojan War ruled over the Peloponnesian Achæans. Just before that event his children were driven from the land. Eighty years after the war, the hundred years of exile appointed by the fates having expired, the descendants of the hero returned at the head of the Dorians from Northern Greece, effected the conquest of the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and established themselves as masters in the land that had formerly been ruled by their semi-divine ancestor.

This legend seems to be a dim remembrance of a prehistoric invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians from the north of Greece, and the expulsion or subjugation of the earlier Achæan population of the peninsula.⁶

133. Migrations to Asia Minor.—The Greek legends represent that the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus resulted in three

found the body of Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks at Troy. This conclusion of enthusiasm has not been accepted by archæologists; but all are agreed that the ancient legends, in so far as they represent Mycenæ as having been in early pre-Dorian times the seat of an influential and wealthy royal race, rest on a basis of actual fact. In the years 1884-1885 Dr. Schliemann made extensive excavations at Tiryns, where he laid bare the foundations of the walls of the ancient citadel and the ruins of an extensive palace like that at Mycenæ. Still more recent diggings by other archæologists have made us more perfectly acquainted with the remarkable character of the buildings on both of these prehistoric sites.

⁶ The evidence furnished by recent archæological discoveries certainly tends to justify the conclusion that that prehistoric civilization of which Dr. Schliemann and others have brought to light so many wonderful remains, was, in Greece proper, violently overwhelmed, as though by a wave of semi-barbarism. Both Mycenæ and Tiryns certainly perished in a great conflagration. What took place here in the Greek peninsula a thousand years before our era has been likened to what took place in the Italian peninsula in the fifth century after Christ, when the invading German tribes overwhelmed the civilization of Rome.



PLATE V.—THE VAPHIO CUPS AND THEIR SCROLLS. (Cups from photographs; the scrolls drawn from facsimiles of the cups)

Found in a tomb at Vaphio, near Sparta, in 1889. "The finest product of the goldsmith's art left to our wondering eyes by the Achæan civilization of Greece" (*Richardson*)

distinct migrations from the mother land to the shores of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands.

The northwestern shore of Asia Minor was settled mainly by Æolian emigrants from Bœotia. The neighboring island of Lesbos became the home and center of Æolian culture in poetry and music.

The coast to the south of the Æolians was occupied by Ionian emigrants, who, uniting with their Ionian kinsmen already settled upon that shore, built up twelve splendid cities (Ephesus, Miletus, etc.), which finally united to form the celebrated Ionian confederacy.

South of the Ionians, all along the southwestern shore of Asia Minor, the Dorians established their colonies. They also settled the important islands of Cos and Rhodes, and conquered and colonized Crete.

These traditions doubtless preserve the memory of a great shifting of the population of Greece caused by the incoming of the conquering Dorian race. The legends of the various settlements represent them as having been effected in a very short period; but it is probable that the movement embraced several centuries, — possibly a longer time than has been occupied by the English race in colonizing the different lands of the Western World.

With these migrations to the Asiatic shores the legendary age of Greece comes to an end. From this time forward we tread upon fairly firm historical ground.

134. Society in the Heroic Age as pictured in the Homeric Poems.

—The poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were composed before historic times in Hellas,⁷ were believed by the Greeks not only to give a truthful account of events connected with the Trojan enterprise, but also to reflect a faithful picture of society in the heroic age. Hence it remains for us to add a few words upon this subject, in order to complete our sketch of pre-historic Hellas as it presented itself to the imagination of a Greek of the historic period.

⁷ The Homeric poems, we may believe, were composed by bards in Ionia, where the descendants of the fugitives from the Greek peninsula at the time of the Dorian invasion (sec. 132) preserved traditions of the glories of the Mycenæan culture which that invasion had overwhelmed in European Greece.

The Homeric poems represent the Greeks in the heroic age as ruled by hereditary kings of semi-divine or superhuman lineage. The *Iliad* says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let there be one leader only, one king, him to whom Zeus has given the scepter and guardian authority, that he may rule."⁸ The king was at once the priest, the judge, and the military leader of his people. He was expected to prove his divine right to rule by his courage, strength, wisdom, and eloquence. When he ceased to display these qualities, "the scepter departed from him."

The king was surrounded by a council of chiefs or nobles. This council, however, was simply an advisory body. The king listened to what the nobles had to say upon any measure he might propose, and then acted according to his own will or judgment, restrained only by the time-honored customs of the community.

Next to the council of the chiefs there was a general assembly, called the *Agora*, made up of all the common freemen. The members of this body could not take part in any debate, nor could they vote upon any question. They were called together to hear matters discussed by the king and his chiefs, that they might know what was resolved upon, and perhaps learn the arguments for and against the resolution. This body, so devoid seemingly of all authority in the Homeric age, was destined to become the all-powerful popular assembly in the democratic cities of historic Greece.

Of the condition of the common freemen we know but little: the legendary tales were concerned chiefly with the kings and the nobles. We are certain, however, that the well-to-do class owned their farms and cultivated them with their own hands, and that the poorer class labored for hire on the estates of the nobles. Slavery existed, but the slaves did not constitute as numerous a class as they became in historic times, nor do they seem in general to have been treated harshly.

In the family the wife held a much more dignified and honored position than that accorded her in later times. The charming story of the constant Penelope, which we find in the *Odyssey*, assures us that the Homeric age cherished a chivalric feeling for woman.

⁸ ii. 203, 206.

In all ranks of society life was marked by a sort of patriarchal simplicity. Manual labor was not yet thought to be degrading. Odysseus constructs his own house and raft, and boasts of his skill in swinging the scythe and guiding the plow. Spinning and weaving were the chief occupations of the women of all classes.

One pleasing and prominent virtue of the age was hospitality. There being no public inns, a sort of gentle necessity forced to the entertainment of wayfarers. The reception accorded the stranger was the same simple and open-hearted hospitality that the Arab sheik of to-day extends to the traveler whom chance brings to his tent.

But while hospitable, the nobles of the heroic age were often cruel, violent, and treacherous. Homer represents his heroes as perpetrating without a blush all sorts of frauds and villainies. Piracy was considered an honorable occupation. "It was customary in wel-

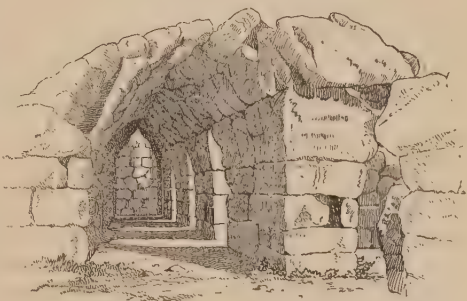


FIG. 71. — GALLERY IN THE SOUTH WALL
AT TIRYNS

"Tiryns the strong-walled." — *Iliad*, ii. 559

coming a stranger to ask him whether his object in traveling was to enrich himself by piracy, just as we might to-day ask a person whether his object be to enrich himself by mercantile speculation."

Architecture is represented as having made considerable advance. The cities are walled, and the palaces of the kings possess a certain barbaric splendor. Coined money is apparently unknown, wealth being reckoned chiefly in flocks and herds and in uncoined metals. The poems make no certain mention of the art of writing, but give glowing descriptions of sculptures of marvelous workmanship. They represent the Greeks as already skilled in shipbuilding, yet as possessing no definite knowledge of the Mediterranean beyond Greece proper and the neighboring islands and shores.

References. — It is difficult to give references on the subject of this chapter, for the reason that Greek mythology is generally dealt with as a whole, no effort being made to separate from the mass of stories of the gods and heroes those which we may term historical legends, — that is, those which profess to deal with the experiences and deeds of the ancestors of the historic Greeks. However, the following works, after the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Bryant's translation), will be found useful in the present connection. CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 47-78. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. i, pp. 309-469. ABBOTT, vol. i, chap. v; on the Homeric poems and the Homeric society. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. iii-x. SEEMANN, *The Mythology of Greece and Rome*. CHURCH, *Stories from Homer* and *Greek Story and Song*; and ZIMMERN, *Old Tales from Greece*, are for youthful readers. GAYLEY, *Classic Myths in English Literature*; chaps. xvii-xxvii give the tales of the older and the younger Greek heroes, including the legends of the Argonauts, the Seven against Thebes, and the Trojan War.

The following works deal with the archæological matters covered by the footnotes of this chapter: SCHLIEMANN, *Troy and its Remains* (1875); *Mycenæ* (1878); *Ilios* (1881); *Troja* (1884); and *Tiryns* (1885). For an admirable summary of all these works of Dr. Schliemann's and a scholarly estimate of the historical import of his discoveries, see SCHUCHHARDT, *Schliemann's Excavations*. DIEHL, *Excursions in Greece*; an account of the results of excavations at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and on other sites in Greece. GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chaps. i-v; compares the Greek legends with recent archæological discoveries and discusses the question whether or not these discoveries may be regarded as a verification in any degree of the legends. TSOUNTAS and MANATT, *The Mycænæan Age*. HALL, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*. RIDGEWAY, *The Early Age of Greece*, 2 vols.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Schliemann's Excavations at Mycenæ. 2. The centers and the character of the culture of the Mycænæan Age. 3. Theories respecting the race represented by the so-called Mycænæan civilization. 4. The shield of Achilles. 5. The exploits of Perseus. 6. Comparison of archæological researches and discoveries in Egypt and Babylonia and in the Ægean lands.

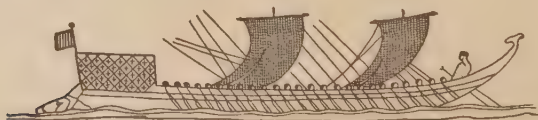


FIG. 72. — FIFTY-OARED GREEK BOAT. (After a vase painting)

CHAPTER XIII

THE INHERITANCE OF THE HISTORIC GREEKS

135. Introductory. — We have seen in the preceding chapter what the Greeks of the historic age believed respecting the life and doings of their forefathers in prehistoric times. It is certain that the prehistoric Greeks did not live in such a romantic world as their children imagined, and that they did not perform all the wonderful exploits which were attributed to them ; yet it is certain that the Greek race before its appearance in history had had a long and wonderful experience. How do we know this? Just as we know that a man mature in character and rich in culture has seen much of the world. The Greeks when they appear in history appear with their heads and hands full of those things which are alone the gift of life. They possessed age-marked political and religious institutions, a wonderfully copious language, a rich and varied mythology, an unrivaled epic literature, and an art which though undeveloped was yet full of promise.

Therefore to complete our introduction to the study of the Greeks of historic times, we shall now give a short account of their actual possessions when they first appeared in the light of history.

I. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

136. The City-State ; its Elements, — the Clan, the Phratry, and the Tribe. — The light that falls upon Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. shows the land filled with cities. Respecting the nature of these cities we must say a word, for it is with them — with cities — that Greek history has to do.

In the first place, each of these cities was an independent, self-governing community, like a modern nation. It was a city-state.

It made war and peace and held diplomatic relations with its neighbors. Its citizens were aliens in every other city.

In the second place, these city-states were, as we think of independent states, very small.¹ In most cases each consisted of nothing more than a single walled town with a little circumjacent farming or pasture land. Sometimes, however, the city-state embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city-state of Athens, in historic times, included all Attica with its hundred or more villages and settlements, some of which were walled towns. In all other cases, however, the outlying villages, if any, were so close to the walled town that all their inhabitants, in the event of a sudden raid by enemies, could get to the city gates in one or two hours at most.

In the third place, each of these early cities was made up of a graded series of smaller bodies. At the bottom were clans (*gentes*). Next above these stood phratries or brotherhoods; the phratries were united to form tribes; and the tribes were united to form the city.²

Of these several bodies the smallest, that is the clan, was the most important.³ The members of the clan were bound together not only by the ties of kinship, but also, as in the case of the members of the phratry and of the tribe, by the ties of religion. All were the actual or reputed descendants of a common ancestor whom they worshiped as a sort of guardian divinity. It was only members of these clans who at first enjoyed the rights of citizenship.⁴

¹ There is a limit, Aristotle argued, to the size of a city as there is to a plant, an animal, or a ship. It should be large enough, he maintained, to be "self-sufficing," and yet not too large to be well governed. That the government might be good he thought that the city should be small enough to enable each citizen to know all his fellow-citizens.

² Compare sec. 376.

³ The clan was simply the expanded family; for in primitive society the family as it expands holds together, being united by the worship of ancestors, whereas in advanced society as it expands it disintegrates, the several households no longer living together, but each usually going its own way. This forms a fundamental difference between primitive and modern society.

⁴ It was only after a long lapse of time that the ties which bound together these primitive family groups became relaxed, largely through a change in the religious beliefs of men, and that the way was thus paved for the entrance of strangers into

137. The Influence of the City upon Greek History. — We cannot understand Greek history unless we get at the outset a clear idea of the feelings of a Greek towards the city of which he was a member. It was the body in which he lived, moved, and had his being. It was his country, his fatherland, for which he lived and for which he died. Exile from his native city was to him a fate scarcely less dreaded than death. This devotion of the Greek to his city was the sentiment which corresponds to patriotism amongst us, only, being a narrower as well as a religious feeling, it was much more intense.

It was this strong city feeling among the Greeks which prevented them from ever uniting to form a single nation. The history of Greece from first to last is, in general, the history of a vast number of independent cities wearing one another out with their never-ending disputes and wars arising from a thousand and one petty causes of rivalry, jealousy, and hatred.

But it was this very thing that made life in the Greek cities so intense and strenuous, and that developed so wonderfully the faculties of the Greek citizen. There arose in the Hellenic cities a rich and many-sided culture, which became the precious legacy of Greece to the world at large. In a word, the wonderful thing which we call Greek civilization was the flower and fruitage of the city-state.

II. RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

138. Ideas of the Greeks respecting the System of the Universe. — Forming another important element of the inheritance of the historic Greeks were their religious ideas and institutions. In speaking of these we shall begin with a word respecting their cosmography, or their ideas in regard to the system of the universe.

the city. This great revolution, the greatest that ever took place in the society of antiquity, was already in progress, both in Italy and in Greece, at the opening of the historical period, and resulted finally in making property and residence instead of birth and worship the basis of civil and political rights and privileges. See secs. 188, 227.

The Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, circular in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. The heavens were a solid vault, or dome, whose edge shut down close upon the earth. Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO HOMER

souls. Still beneath this was the prison Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron.

The sun was an archer god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Naturally it was imagined that the regions in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of delight and plenty. The eastern was the favored country of the Ethiopians,⁵ a land which even Zeus himself so loved to visit that

⁵ There was also a western division of these people.

often he was found absent from Olympus when sought by suppliants. In the western region, adjoining the ocean stream, were the Isles of the Blest (Elysium), the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.⁶

139. ~~The Olympian Council.~~ — At the head of the Greek pantheon there was a council of twelve members, comprising six gods and as many goddesses. The male deities were Zeus, the father of gods and men; Poseidon, ruler of the



FIG. 73. — GROUP OF GODS AND GODDESSES
(From the frieze of the Parthenon)

"The chief gods, in striking contrast with the monstrous divinities of the Oriental mythologies, had been moulded by the fine Hellenic imagination into human forms of surpassing beauty and grace"

sea; Apollo, or Phœbus, the god of light, of music, and of prophecy; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the deformed god of fire, and the forger of the thunderbolts of Zeus; Hermes, the wing-footed herald of the celestials, the god of invention and of commerce.



FIG. 74. — THE CARRYING OFF OF PERSEPHONE BY
HADES TO THE UNDERWORLD; HER LEAVE-
TAKING OF HER MOTHER DEMETER

A myth of the seasons connected with the Eleusinian
Mysteries

The female divinities were Hera, the proud and jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas, — who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, — the goddess of wisdom and the patroness of the domestic arts; Artemis, the

⁶ These conceptions, it will be understood, belong to the early period of Greek mythology. As the geographical knowledge of the Greeks became more extended, they modified considerably the topography not only of the upper but also of the nether world.

goddess of the chase ; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, born of the white sea foam ; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth ; Demeter,⁷ the earth mother, the goddess of grains and harvests.⁸

These great deities were simply magnified human beings. They give way to fits of anger and jealousy. All the celestial council, at the sight of Hephæstus limping across the palace floor, burst into "inextinguishable laughter" ; and Aphrodite, weeping, moves all to tears. They surpass mortals rather in power than in size of body. They can render themselves visible or invisible to human eyes. Their food is ambrosia and nectar ; their movements are swift as light. They may suffer pain ; but death can never come to them, for they are immortal. Their abode is Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

140. The Delphian Oracle and its Influence on Greek Life and History. — The most precious part perhaps of the religious heritage of the historic Greeks from the misty Hellenic foretime was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

The Greeks believed that in the early ages the gods were wont to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past, — a tradition of a golden age that had passed away. In historic times, though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of

⁷ The cult or worship of Demeter and Persephone was connected with the Eleusinian mysteries celebrated at Eleusis in Attica. These secrets were so carefully guarded that to this day it is not known what they really were. It seems, however, that the hopeful doctrine of a future life more real and satisfying than that represented by the popular religion was taught, or at least suggested, by the symbolism of the mysteries, and that the initiated were helped thereby to live better and happier lives.

⁸ Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine. Hades ruled over the lower realms ; Dionysus was the god of wine ; Eros, of love ; Iris was the goddess of the rainbow, and the special messenger of Zeus ; Hebe (goddess) was the cupbearer of the celestials ; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant ; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates. There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. The Nymphs were beautiful maidens, who peopled the woods, the fields, the rivers, the lakes, and the ocean. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinyes) avenged crime, especially murder and sacrilegious crimes. Besides these there were the Centaurs, the Cyclopes, the Harpies, the Gorgons, and a thousand others.

counsel through what were known as *oracles*. These communications, it was believed, were made sometimes by Zeus,⁹ but more commonly by Apollo. Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These favored spots were called *oracles*, as were also the responses there received.

The most renowned of the Greek oracles, as we have intimated, was that at Delphi, in Phocis. Here, from a deep fissure in the rocks, arose stupefying vapors, which were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over this spot was erected a temple in honor of the Revealer. The communication was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess, seated upon a tripod placed above the orifice. As she became overpowered by the vapors, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in hexameter verse. Sometimes the divine will was communicated to the pious seeker by dreams and visions granted him while sleeping in the temple of the oracle.



FIG. 75. — APOLLO

Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice; but very many of them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were made obscure and ingeniously ambiguous, so that they might correspond with the event however affairs should turn.¹⁰

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world; it was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of

⁹ The oracle of Zeus of widest repute was that at Dodona, in Epirus, where the priests listened for the voice of the god in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak.

¹⁰ Thus Cræsus at the time he made war on Cyrus (sec. 96) was told in response to his inquiry that if he undertook the war he would destroy a great empire. He did, indeed — but the empire was his own.

Rome in times of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

Especially true was this in the founding of colonies. Apollo was believed "to take delight in the founding of new cities." No colony, it was believed, could prosper that had not been established with the sanction or under the superintendence of the Delphian god.¹¹

The Delphian oracle, furthermore, exerted a profound influence upon Hellenic unity. Delphi was, in some respects, such a religious center of Hellas as papal Rome was of mediæval Europe. It was the common altar of the Greek race. By thus providing a worship open to all, Delphi drew together by bonds of religious sentiment and fraternity the numberless communities of Greece, and created, if not a political, at least a religious union that embraced the entire Hellenic world.¹²

141. The Olympic Games. — Another of the most characteristic of the religious institutions of the Greeks which they inherited from prehistoric times was the sacred games celebrated at Olympia in Elis, in honor of the Olympian Zeus. The origin of this festival is lost in the obscurity of tradition; but by the opening of the eighth century B.C. it had assumed national importance. In 776 B.C. a contestant named Coræbus was victor in the foot race at Olympia, and as from that time the names of the victors were carefully registered, that year came to be used by the Greeks as the starting point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the interval between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad.¹³

¹¹ The managers of the oracle, doubtless through the visitors to the shrine, kept themselves informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able to give good advice to those contemplating the founding of a new settlement.

¹² For an illustration of the influence of the oracle upon Greek morality, read the story of Glaucus (Herodotus, vi. 86).

¹³ The date of an occurrence was given by saying that it happened in the first, second, third, or fourth year of such an Olympiad. — the first, second, or third, etc. This mode of designating dates, however, did not come into general use in Greece before the third century B.C.

The contests consisted of foot races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of Hellenic race; must have undergone special training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival.

The victor was crowned with a garland of sacred olive; heralds proclaimed his name abroad; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls; his statues, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; sometimes even divine honor and worship were accorded to him; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating his name and triumphs as the name and triumphs of one who had reflected immortal honor upon his native state.

142. The Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian Games. — Besides the Olympian games there were transmitted from prehistoric times the germs at least of three other national festivals. These were the Pythian, held in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Nemea, in Argolis; and the Isthmian, observed in honor of Poseidon, on the Isthmus of Corinth. Just when these festivals had their beginnings it is impossible to say, but by the time the historic period had fairly opened, that is to say, by the sixth century B.C., they had lost their local and assumed a national character, and were henceforth to be prominent features of the common life of the Greek cities.

143. Influence of the Grecian Games. — For more than a thousand years these national festivals, particularly those celebrated at Olympia, exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, save the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals, poets and

historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind.

Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art (sec. 318). "Without the Olympic games," says Holm, "we should never have had Greek sculpture."

Moreover, they promoted intercourse and trade; for the festivals naturally became great centers of traffic and exchange during



FIG. 76. — GREEK RUNNERS

the progress of the games. They softened, too, the manners of the people, turning their thoughts from martial exploits and giving the states respite from war; for dur-

ing the season in which the religious games were held it was sacrilegious to engage in military expeditions.

They also promoted intercourse between the different Grecian cities and kept alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, still they did impress a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.¹⁴

14. The Amphictyonic Council. — Closely connected with the religious festivals were the so-called Amphictyonies, or "leagues of neighbors," which formed another important part of the bequest from the legendary age to historic Greece. These were associations of a number of cities or tribes for the celebration of religious rites at some shrine, or for the protection of some particular temple.

¹⁴ The Olympian games, after having been suspended since the fourth century of our era, were revived, with an international character, in 1896, at Athens.

Preëminent among all such unions was that known as the Delphic Amphictyony, or simply The Amphictyony, which was fabled to have been instituted by the hero Amphictyon, a pre-historic king of Attica. This was a league of twelve of the sub-tribes of Hellas, whose main object was the protection of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city." This was one of the first steps taken in the practice of international law.

The Amphictyons waged in behalf of the Delphic god Apollo a number of crusades or sacred wars. The first of these occurred at the opening of the sixth century B.C. (probably about 595-586), and was carried on against the Phocian towns of Crissa and Cirrha, whose inhabitants had been guilty of annoying the pilgrims on their way to the shrine. The cities were finally taken and leveled to the ground. Their territory was also consecrated to the gods, which meant that it was never thereafter to be plowed or planted, or in any way devoted to secular use.

145. Doctrine of Divine Jealousy. — Several religious or semi-religious ideas, which were a bequest to the historic Greeks from primitive times, colored so deeply all their conceptions of life, and supplied them so often with motives of action, that we must not fail to take notice of them here. Two of these ideas related to the envious disposition of the gods and the nature of the life after death.

The Greeks were impressed, as all peoples and generations have been, with the mutations of fortune and the vicissitudes of human life. Their observation and experience had taught them that long-continued good fortune and unusual prosperity often issue at last in sudden and overwhelming calamity. They attributed this to the jealousy of the gods, who, they imagined, were envious of mortals that through such prosperity seemed to have

become too much like one of themselves. Thus the Greeks believed the downfall of Cræsus, after his extraordinary course of uninterrupted prosperity, to have been brought about by the envy of the celestials, and they colored the story to bear out this version of the matter.

Later, as the moral feelings of the Greeks became truer, they put a different interpretation upon the facts. They said that the downfall of the great was not due to the *envy* of the gods, but to their righteous *indignation*, aroused by the insolence and presumptuous pride engendered by over-great prosperity.

146. Ideas of the Future. — To the Greeks life here on earth was so bright and joyous a thing that they looked upon death as a great calamity. Moreover, they pictured life after death, except in the case of a favored few, as being hopeless and aimless.¹⁵ The Elysian Fields, away in the land of sunset, were, indeed, filled with every delight; but these were the abode only of the great heroes and benefactors of the race. The great mass of mankind were doomed to Hades, where the spirit existed as “a feeble, joyless phantom.”¹⁶ So long as the body remained unburied, the shade wandered without rest; hence the sacredness of the rites of sepulture.

III. LANGUAGE, MYTHOLOGY, LITERATURE, AND ART

147. The Greek Language. — One of the most wonderful things which the Greeks brought out of their dim foretime was their language. At the beginning of the historic period their language was already one of the richest and most perfectly elaborated languages ever spoken by human lips. Through what number of centuries this language was taking form upon the lips of the

¹⁵ Homer makes the shade of the great Achilles in Hades to say:

“ I would be
A laborer on earth and serve for hire
Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
Rather than reign o’er all who have gone down
To death.” — *Od.* xi. 489-490 (Bryant’s trans.).

¹⁶ Compare secs. 57 and 88.

forefathers of the historic Greeks, we can only vaguely imagine. It certainly bears testimony to a long period of Hellenic life lying behind the historic age in Hellas.

148. The Mythology of the Greeks. — Another wonderful possession of the Greeks when they first appeared in history was their mythology. All races in the earlier stages of their development are “myth-makers,” but no race has ever created such a rich and beautiful mythology as did the ancient Greeks, and this for the reason that no other race was ever endowed with so fertile and lively an imagination.

This mythology exercised a great influence upon the life and thought of the ancient Greeks. Their religion, their poetry, their art, and their history were one and all deeply impressed by this wonderful collection of legends and myths. Some of these stories inspired religious feeling; some afforded themes to the epic and tragic poets; others suggested subjects to the sculptor — the whole mythology was cut in marble; and still others inspired the actors in Greek history to many an heroic deed or adventurous undertaking.

149. Early Greek Literature; the Homeric Poems. — The rich and flexible language of the Greeks had already in prehistoric times been wrought into epic poems whose beauty and perfection are unequaled by the similar productions of any other people or race. These epics transmitted from the Greek foretime are known as the “Homeric poems,” consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Neither the exact date nor the authorship of the Homeric poems is known (sec. 330). That they were the prized possession of the Greeks at the beginning of the historical period is all that it is important for us to note here. They were a sort of Bible to the Greeks, and exercised an incalculable influence not only upon the religious but also upon the literary life of the entire Hellenic world.

150. Early Greek Art. — In the field of art the heritage of historic Greece from the legendary age consisted rather in a certain inherited instinct or feeling for the beautiful than in acquired

skill. "The Homeric poetry was, indeed," says Professor Jebb, "instinct with the promises of Hellenic art. Such qualities of poetical thought, such forms of language, announced a race from which great artists might be expected to spring."¹⁷

This prophecy we shall see passing into fulfillment in the ideal perfection of the art of Phidias and Praxiteles.

References. — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 1-111. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 164-194; vol. iii, pp. 276-297. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. i, xi, and xix. COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, bks. i-iii. FOWLER, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. i-iii. RICHARDSON, *Vacation Days in Greece*, "Delphi, the Sanctuary of Greece," and "Dodona." GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. ix, "Olympia and the Festivals," and chap. xiii, "Eleusis and the Mysteries." DIEHL, *Excursions in Greece*, chap. vii; on the Grecian games.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Religion as the organizer of the ancient city-state. See *Coulanges* and *Fowler*. 2. The Doctrine of Divine Envy in Herodotus. Consult Index under *Cræsus*, *Polycrates*, and *Artabanus*. 3. The influence of the Delphian oracle compared with that of the mediæval Papacy. 4. The story of Demeter and Persephone. 5. The Eleusinian mysteries. 6. The Olympian games.

¹⁷ "When the Hellenes created the Epos, they were already Greeks; i.e. the chosen people of poetry and art." — PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *History of Art in Primitive Greece*, vol. i, p. 7.



CHAPTER XIV

THE GROWTH OF SPARTA

151. The Early Ascendancy of Argos; King Pheidon. — We have seen how the Dorians, long before the historic period, invaded the Peloponnesus,¹ and subjected or drove out the greater part of the Achæan population then possessing the land (sec. 132). One result of the invasion was the establishment of a number of Dorian city-states, of which Sparta, in the south of the peninsula, came in time to be chief and leader.

But before Sparta acquired supremacy in the Peloponnesus, another Dorian city in the north had secured, and for a considerable time maintained, a position of preëminence. This was Argos, which arose in Argolis, near the ruins of the old Mycenæan strongholds.²

For a long time we see the rising city-state only through the mist of uncertain tradition. Shadowy forms of Argive kings move before us, but it is not until the eighth century before our era that we are able to make out clearly the figure of a single personage. Then King Pheidon stands out in a light strong enough to enable us to pronounce him a man of real flesh and blood.³

The most noteworthy matter associated by tradition with the name of Pheidon is connected with the economic life of the times. He is said to have been the first to coin copper and silver in

¹ Previous to their migration the Dorians dwelt in Thessaly, on the eastern slopes of the Pindus. Driven from their seats by an invasion, they migrated southward, and after dwelling for a time in Central Greece, moved on into the Peloponnesus. A part of the race, however, remaining behind, formed the Doris of historic times.

² At Mycenæ, the city of Agamemnon, the Dorian conquerors walked for centuries over the graves of the ancient royal race of that city without the least conception of what treasures of gold and silver were buried beneath their feet (sec. 131, n. 5).

³ The date of Pheidon is not known with certainty, but probably it falls about 770-730 B.C.

Greece, and to have introduced a new or improved scale of weights and measures.

This Pheidonian system of coinage, weights, and measures was of Babylonian origin (sec. 62). Its introduction into Greece shows how deep an influence the civilization of the East was at this early period exercising upon the rising cities of Hellas.

After Pheidon, Argos sank into comparative obscurity. In the sixth century she was overshadowed by the rising Dorian cities of Corinth and Sicyon, and especially by the growing power of Sparta.

152. The Location of Sparta. — Sparta, the most renowned after Athens of the cities of Hellas, was the chief of the Dorian cities



FIG. 77. — SPARTA, WITH THE RANGES OF THE TAYGETUS IN THE BACKGROUND. (From a photograph)

of the Peloponnesus which owed their origin or importance to the circumstances of the Dorian invasion. It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, about thirty miles from the sea.

The settlement took its name, Sparta,⁴ from the circumstance that the group of villages was built upon tillable ground, whereas the core of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock or acropolis. But Sparta needed no citadel. Her situation, surrounded as she was by almost impassable mountain barriers, and far removed

⁴ Σπάρτη, sown land.

from the sea, was her sufficient defense. Indeed, the Spartans seem to have thought it unnecessary even to erect a wall round their city, which stood open on every side until late and degenerate times. And events justified this feeling of security. So difficult of access to an enemy is the valley, that during more than four hundred years of Spartan history the waters of the Eurotas never once reflected the camp fires of an invading army.

153. Classes in the Spartan State. Before proceeding to speak of the social and political institutions of the Spartans, we must first notice the three classes — Spartans, Pericæci, and Helots — into which the population of Laconia was divided.

The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of the country, and were Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population, at no period numbering more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms.

The Pericæci (dwellers around), who constituted the second class, were the subjugated natives. They are said to have outnumbered the Spartans three to one. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute-rent, and in times of war to fight for the glory and interest of their Spartan masters.

The third and lowest class was composed of slaves, or serfs, called Helots. The larger number of these were laborers upon the estates of the Spartans. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot.

These Helots had no rights, practically, which their Spartan masters felt bound to respect. It is affirmed that when they grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.⁵

⁵ "Once, when they [the Spartans] were afraid of the number and vigour of the Helot youth, this was what they did: They proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedæmonians in war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them; it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited, and most likely to rise against their masters. So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with

154. The Legend of Lycurgus. — Of the history of Sparta before the First Olympiad we have no certain knowledge. According to tradition, peace, prosperity, and rapid growth were secured through the adoption of a most remarkable political constitution framed by a great lawgiver named Lycurgus.⁶

Legend represents Lycurgus as having fitted himself for his great work through an acquaintance, by converse with priests and sages, with the laws and institutions of different lands. He is said to have studied with zeal the laws of Minos, the legendary lawgiver of Crete, and to have become learned, like the legislator Moses, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Upon the return of Lycurgus to Sparta, — we still follow the tradition, — his learning and wisdom soon made him the leader of a strong party. After much opposition a system of laws and regulations drawn up by him was adopted by the Spartan people. Then, binding his countrymen by a solemn oath that they would carefully observe his laws during his absence, he went into an unknown exile.

It is probable that Lycurgus was a real person, and that he had something to do with shaping the Spartan constitution. But it is almost certain that he simply reformed a constitution already in existence; for it is a proverb that constitutions grow and are not made. Circumstances, doubtless, were in the main the real creator of the peculiar political institutions of Sparta, — the circumstances that surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population.

155. The Spartan Constitution: the Kings; the Senate; the General Assembly; and the Ephors. — The so-called constitution of Lycurgus provided for two joint kings, a Senate of Elders, a General Assembly, and a sort of executive board composed of five persons called Ephors.

garlands and went in procession round the temples; they were supposed to have received their liberty; but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any one of them came by his end." — THUCYDIDES, iv. 80 (Jowett's trans.).

⁶ The date of Lycurgus falls somewhere in the ninth century B.C., probably near its close.

The two kings corresponded in some respects to the two consuls in the later Roman republic.⁷ One served as a check upon the other. This double sovereignty worked admirably; for five centuries there was no successful attempt on the part of a Spartan king to subvert the constitution. The power of the joint kings, it should be added, came to be rather nominal than real, save in time of war.

The Senate consisted of twenty-eight elders. The two coördinate kings were also members, thus raising the number to thirty. The duties of the body seem to have been both of a judicial and a legislative character. No one could become a senator until he had reached the age of sixty.

The General Assembly was composed of all the citizens of Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made and questions of peace and war decided; but nothing could be brought before it save such matters as the Senate had previously decided might be entertained by it.

In striking contrast to the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without general debate, only the magistrates and persons specially invited being allowed to address the assemblage. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated windy discussion.

The board of Ephors was composed, as we have noticed, of five persons, elected in some way not known to us. This body gradually drew to itself many of the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as much of the authority of the associate kings.

156. Regulations as to Land, Trade, and Money. — Plutarch says that Lycurgus, seeing that the lands had fallen largely into the hands of the rich, made a general redistribution of them, allotting an equal portion to each of the nine thousand Spartan citizens, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each of the

⁷ Various explanations are given of the origin of this dual monarchy. One theory supposes one king to represent the Achæan race and the other the Dorian; a second assumes that the double monarchy arose from the union of two Dorian settlements; while still a third regards the two kings as representing two leading families at Sparta, whose rival claims to the throne were accommodated by raising a member of each to the royal dignity. See Abbott, *History of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 206, 207.

thirty thousand Pericæci. It is not probable that there ever was such an exact division of landed property. The Spartan theory, it is true, seems to have been that every free man should possess a farm large enough to support him without work, so that he might give himself wholly to his duties as a citizen; but as a matter of fact there existed, at certain periods at least, great inequality in landed possessions among the Spartans. In the fourth century, according to Plutarch, not more than one hundred of the citizens held any land at all.

The Spartans were forbidden to engage in commerce or to pursue any trade; all their time must be passed in the chase, or in gymnastic and martial exercises. Iron was made the sole money of the state. This money, as described by Plutarch, was so heavy in proportion to its value that the amount needed to make a trifling purchase required a yoke of oxen to draw it. The object of Lycurgus in instituting such a currency was, we are told, to prevent its being used for the purchase of worthless foreign stuff.⁸

157. The Public Tables. — The most peculiar, perhaps, of the Spartan institutions were the public meals. In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus is said to have ordered that all the citizens should eat at public and common tables. This was their custom, but Lycurgus could have had nothing to do with instituting it. It was part of their military life.

Every citizen was required to contribute to these common meals a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices; if any one failed to pay his contribution, he was degraded and disfranchised. Excepting the Ephors, none, not even the kings, was excused from sitting at the common mess.

⁸ The real truth about this iron money is simply this: the conservative, non-trading Spartans retained longer than the other Grecian states the use of a primitive medium of exchange. Gold and silver money was not introduced into Sparta until about the close of the fifth century B.C., when the great expansion of her interests rendered a change in her money system absolutely necessary. In referring the establishment of the early currency to Lycurgus the Spartans simply did in this case just what they did in regard to their other usages.

One of the kings, returning from an expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

A luxury-loving Athenian once visited Sparta and seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, which seems to have consisted in the main of a black broth, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle: "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

158. Education of the Youth. — Children at Sparta were regarded as belonging to the state. Every male infant was brought before the Council of Elders, and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy trainers. The aim of the entire course was to make a nation of soldiers who should condemn toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor.

The mind was cultivated only as far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were not taught, and the art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic* (from *Laconia*), meaning a concise and pithy mode of expression. Boys were taught to respond in the fewest words possible. At the public tables they were not permitted to speak until questioned; they sat "silent as statues." As Plutarch puts it, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words."

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In running, leaping, wrestling, and hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity. At the Olympian games Spartan champions more frequently than any others bore off the prizes of victory.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. He was inured to the cold of winter by being forced to pass through that season with only the light dress

of summer. His bed was a bundle of river reeds. Sometimes he was placed before the altar of Artemis and scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash without revealing their suffering by look or moan.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If detected, they were severely punished for having been so unskillful as not to get safely away with their booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of the Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle.

That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view, — the rearing of a nation of skillful and resolute warriors, — the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests.

159. The Spartan Conquest of Messenia: the First and Second Messenian Wars (about 743-723 and 645-631 B.C.). — The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian Wars was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian Wars.

Messenia was one of those districts of the Peloponnesus which, like Laconia, had been taken possession of by Dorian bands at the time of the great invasion. It was the most pleasant and fertile of all the Peloponnesian districts which fell into the hands of the Dorians. Here the intruding Dorians, contrary to what was the case in Laconia, had mingled with the native population to form a new mixed race.

The real cause of the war which now broke out between the Spartans and the Messenians was probably Spartan lust of conquest. The occasion is said to have been some border trouble about some cattle or other petty matter. The struggle falls into two periods, the so-called First and Second Messenian Wars (about 743-723 and 645-631 B.C.). Of these early wars of Sparta the accounts are confused and contradictory. It is only

the general course of events that we can make out with any degree of certainty.

In the first war the Messenians, under the lead of their patriot king Aristodemus, offered an obstinate resistance to the Spartan invaders. A strongly fortified city on the cliffs of Mount Ithome was the last rallying place of the hard-pressed Messenians. But after a prolonged siege this citadel fell into the hands of the Spartans, and the first war came to an end.

The conquered Messenians were reduced to vassalage, their relation to the Spartans becoming somewhat like that of the *Periœci* of Laconia. Many of the better class, choosing exile to servitude, fled beyond the sea to Ionia or to Italy in search of new homes.

An interval of two generations separated the First from the Second Messenian War. Then the sons of the sons of those Messenians who had made the first brave fight against the Spartan invaders of their land, taking advantage of Sparta's misfortunes in war, flew to arms with the desperate determination to drive out the enslavers of their country. The Messenians were aided in their struggle by Argos and some of the Arcadian states that were jealous of the rising power of Sparta.

But the freedom which the fathers could not preserve the sons could not regain. The uprising was finally crushed,⁹ and as a punishment for their revolt the Spartans laid upon the necks of the reconquered people a still heavier yoke of servitude. From the state of *Periœci* they were reduced to the degrading and bitter condition of the *Helots* of Laconia.

As at the end of the first war, so now many of the nobles fled the country and found hospitality as exiles in other lands. Some of the fugitives conquered for themselves a place in Sicily and gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messana (Messina), on the Sicilian straits.

Thus Sparta secured possession of Messenia. From the end of the Second Messenian War on to the decline of the Spartan power

⁹ According to tradition the Spartans owed in part their final victory to a poet named Tyrtæus, who, at a critical period of the war, reanimated their drooping spirits by his inspiring war songs.

in the fourth century B.C., the Messenians were the serfs of the Spartans. All the southern part of the Peloponnesus was now Spartan territory.

160. Spartan Supremacy established in Central and Northern Peloponnesus. — After Sparta had secured possession of Messenia, her influence and power advanced steadily until her leadership was acknowledged by all the other states of the Peloponnesus save Argos.

This city naturally made a stout fight for the maintenance of her ancient supremacy (sec. 151). But an awful disaster left her shorn of power, though not of independence. Defeated in battle, the Argives on one occasion fled for refuge to a sacred grove near at hand. Here they were hemmed in by the Spartans, and then the wood set afire. The six thousand Argives within the grove perished to a man, those that endeavored to escape the flames falling by the Spartan swords. Thus in a single day two thirds of the fighting population of Argos were destroyed.¹⁰

This terrible crime left Spartan influence supreme in Argolis. Argos remained, it is true, a free city, but her authority extended only a little distance beyond her walls.

Even before the complete destruction of the Argive power by Sparta she had formed close alliances with the important Dorian cities of Corinth and Sicyon. At the same time, gaining influence at Olympia, in Elis, she secured the virtual management of the Olympian games. Through these national festivals her name and fame were spread throughout all Hellas.

Sparta now began to be looked to even by the Greek cities beyond the Peloponnesus as the natural leader and champion of the Greeks. Her renown was also, it seems, spreading even among barbarian nations; for about the middle of the sixth century B.C. we hear of an attempt made by Cræsus, king of Lydia, to secure her for an ally in his unfortunate war with Persia, which was at that time the rising power in Asia (sec. 96).

Having now traced in brief outline the rise of Sparta to supremacy in the Peloponnesus, we must turn aside to take a

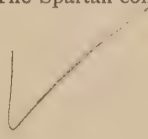
¹⁰ The date of this massacre is unknown. It probably occurred about 505 B.C.

wider look over Hellas, in order to note an expansion movement of the Hellenic race which resulted in the establishment of Hellenes upon almost every shore of the then known world.

Selections from the Sources.—PLUTARCH, *Life of Lycurgus*. THUCYDIDES, i. 10, beginning; *ibid.* 18, beginning; *ibid.* 20, beginning; iv. 17, beginning.

References (Modern).—CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 175-315. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 259-377. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. v-viii. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. xv-xvii. DUNCKER, vol. i, pp. 336-435; vol. ii, pp. 53-73. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Early Grecian History*, chaps. viii and xi. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chaps. vii and viii. GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. v, secs. 1-3. GILBERT, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*; first part. A book for the special student.

Topics for Special Study.—1. The origin of the double sovereignty at Sparta. 2. The women of Sparta. 3. Legends of the Messenian wars. 4. The Helots of Laconia. 5. The Spartan constitution.



CHAPTER XV

THE AGE OF GREEK COLONIZATION

(About 750-600 B.C.)

161. Causes of Greek Colonization.—The latter half of the eighth and the seventh century B.C. constituted a period in Greek history marked by great activity in the establishment of colonies. This expansion movement of the Greek race forms an important chapter not only in Hellenic but also, as we shall learn, in general history.

The inciting causes of Greek colonization at the period named ¹ were various. One was the growth in wealth of the cities of the home land ² and the consequent expansion of their trade and commerce. This development had created an eager desire for wealth, and had given birth to a spirit of mercantile enterprise. Thousands were ready to take part in any undertaking which seemed to offer a chance for adventure or to open a way to the quick acquisition of riches.

Another motive of emigration was supplied by the political unrest which at this time filled almost all the cities of Greece. The growth within their walls of a wealthy trading class, who naturally desired to have a part in the government, brought this order in conflict with the oligarchs, who in most of the cities at this time held in their hands all political authority. The resulting contentions, issuing in the triumph now of this party and then of that, or perhaps in the rise of a tyrant whose rule often bore heavily on all orders alike, created a large discontented class, who were ready to undergo the privations attending the founding

¹ We are not concerned in the present chapter with the earlier emigration from continental Greece to Asia Minor caused by the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus (sec. 133).

² By the "home land," as we here use the term, we mean the western shore of Asia Minor, the islands of the Ægean, and Greece proper.

of new homes in remote lands, if only thereby they might secure freer conditions of life.

Other motives blended with those already mentioned. There was the restless Greek spirit, the Greek love of adventure, which doubtless impelled many of the young and ardent to embark in the undertakings. To this class especially did Sicily and the other little-known lands of the West present a peculiar attraction.

To all these inciting causes of the great emigration must be added the aggressions of Sparta upon her neighbors in the Peloponnesus. We have already seen that many of the Messenians, at the end of their first and again at the close of their second unsuccessful struggle with Sparta, joined the emigrants who just then were setting out for the colonies in the western seas (sec. 159).

162. Relation of a Greek Colony to its Mother City. — The history of the Greek colonies would be unintelligible without an understanding of the relation in which a Greek colony stood to the city sending out the emigrants.

There was a fundamental difference between Greek colonization and Roman. The Roman colony was subject to the authority of the mother city. The emigrants remained citizens or semi-citizens of Rome.³ The Greek colony, on the other hand, was, in almost all cases, wholly independent of its parent city. The Greek mind could not entertain the idea of one city as rightly ruling over another, even though that other were her own daughter colony.⁴

But while there were no political bonds uniting the mother city and her daughter colonies, still the colonies were attached to their parent country by ties of kinship, of culture, and of filial piety. The sacred fire on the altar of the new home was kindled from

³ In this respect the colonies of Rome resembled those of modern European states.

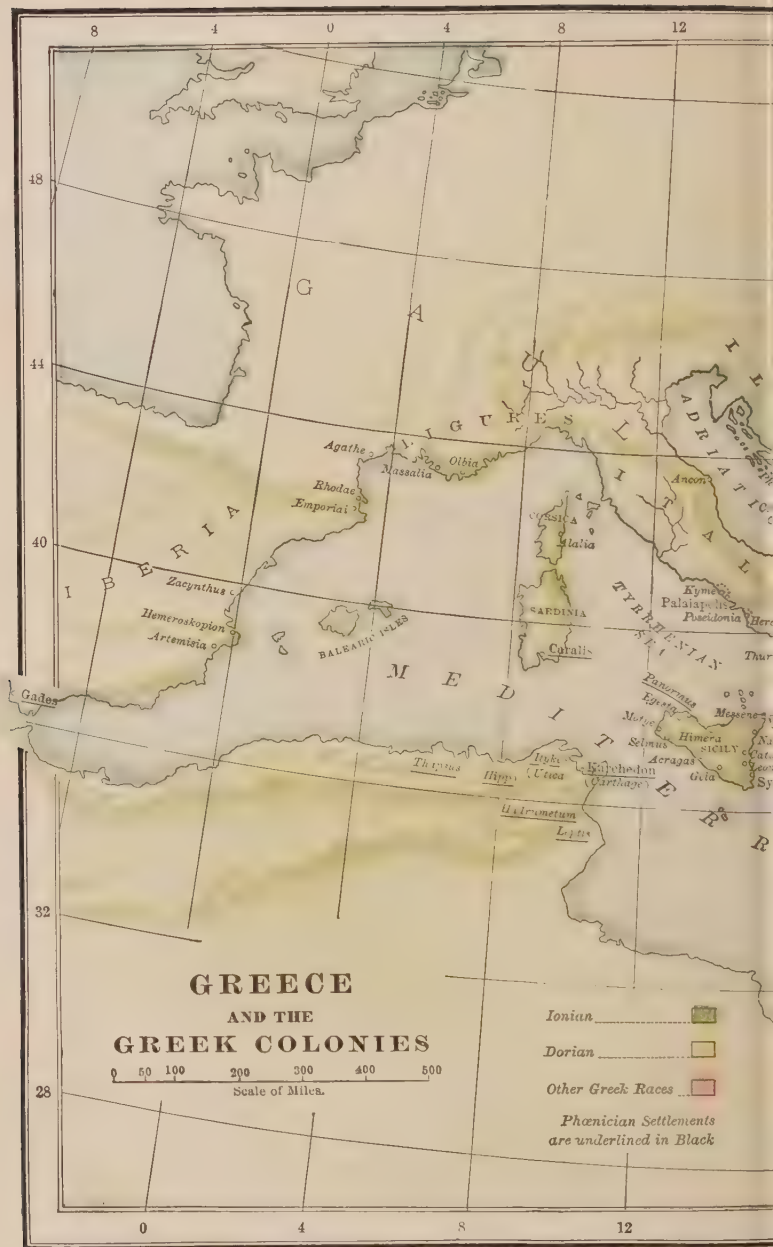
⁴ Besides these independent colonies, however, which were united to the mother city by the ties of friendship and reverence alone, there was another class of colonies known as *cleruchies*. The settlers in these did not lose their rights of citizenship in the mother city, which retained full control of their affairs. Such settlements, however, were more properly garrisons than colonies, and were few in number compared with the independent communities. Athens had a number of such colonies.

embers piously borne by the emigrants from the public hearth of the mother city, and testified constantly that the citizens of the two cities were members of the same though a divided family. Thus by the ties of religion were the mother and the daughter city naturally drawn into close sympathy.

The feeling that the colonists entertained for their mother country is shown by the names which they often gave to the prominent objects in and about their new home. Just as the affectionate memory of the homes from which they had gone out prompted the New England colonists to reproduce in the new land the names of places and objects dear to them in the old, so did the cherished remembrance of the land they had left lead the Greek emigrants to give to the streets and temples and fountains and hills of their new city the familiar and endeared names of the old home.

163. The Condition of the Mediterranean World favorable to the Colonizing Movement.—The Mediterranean lands were at this time, say during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., in a most favorable state for this colonizing movement of the Greeks. The cities of Phœnicia, the great rivals of the Greeks in maritime enterprise, had been crippled by successive blows from the Assyrian kings, who just now were pushing out their empire to the Mediterranean. This laming of the mercantile activity of Tyre and Sidon left their trade and that of their colonies a prey to the Greeks. It should be noticed, however, that after the decline of the cities of Phœnicia, the Phœnician colony of Carthage on the African shore gradually grew into a new center of Semitic trade and colonizing activity, and practically shut the Greeks out of the greater part of the Mediterranean lying west of Sicily.

Another circumstance was favorable to Greek colonization. The shores of the Mediterranean were at this time, speaking broadly, unoccupied. The great kingdoms of later times, Lydia, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome, had not yet arisen, or were still inland powers, and indifferent respecting the coast lands; while the barbarian tribes whose territories bordered upon the sea of course attached no special value to the harbors and commercial





sites along their coasts. But these peoples were advancing in culture and were beginning to feel a desire for the manufactures of foreign lands, and consequently had a strong motive for welcoming the Greek traders to their shores.

164. The Chalcidian Colonies (about 750–650 B.C.). — An early and favorite colonizing ground of the Greeks was the Macedonian coast. Here a triple promontory juts far out into the Ægean. On this broken shore, Chalcis of Eubœa, with the help, however, of emigrants from other cities, founded so many colonies — thirty-two owned her as their mother city — that the land became known as Chalcidice.⁵

One of the chief attractions of this shore to the Greek colonists and traders was the rich copper, silver, and gold deposits found in the mountains of the promontory and of the back country. The immense slag heaps found there to-day bear witness to the former importance of the mining industry of the region. The hills, too, were clothed with heavy forests which furnished excellent timber for shipbuilding, and this was an important item in the trade of the Chalcidian colonies, since timber in many parts of Greece proper was far from abundant.

The Chalcidian colonies exercised a very important influence upon the course and development of Greek history. Their importance in the history of culture can hardly be overestimated. Through them it was, in large measure, that the inland tribes of Macedonia, particularly the ruling class, became so deeply tinctured with Hellenic civilization. It was this circumstance which, as we shall learn, gave special historical significance to the Macedonian conquests of later times, making them as it did something more than the mere destructive forays of barbarians (secs. 277 and 284).

165. Colonies on the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosphorus. — A second region full of attractions to the colonists of the enterprising commercial cities of the mother country was that embracing the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, together with the connecting

⁵ Potidæa, however, one of the most important cities in Chalcidice, was a colony of Corinth.

sheet of water known to the Greeks as the Propontis. These water channels, forming as they do the gateway to the Northern world, early drew the attention of the Greek traders.

Here was founded, among other cities, Byzantium (658 B.C.). The city was built, under the special direction of the Delphian oracle, on one of the most magnificent sites for a great emporium that the ancient world afforded. It was destined to a long and checkered history.

166. Colonies in the Euxine Region. — The tale of the Argonauts (sec. 129) shows that in prehistoric times the Greeks probably carried on trade with the shores of the Euxine. The chief products of the region were fish, grain, and cattle, besides timber, gold, copper, and iron.

The fisheries, particularly, of the region formed the basis of a very active and important trade. The fish markets of the commercial Ionian cities of European Greece and of Asia Minor, in which fish formed a chief article of diet among the poorer classes, were supplied in large measure by the products of these northern fisheries. So large was the trade in cereals that we may call this Black Sea region the granary of Greece, in the same sense that North Africa and Egypt were in later times called the granary of Rome.

Still another object of commerce in the Euxine was slaves. This region was a sort of slave hunters' land — the Africa of Hellas. It supplied to a great degree the slave markets of the Hellenic world. In the modern Caucasian slave trade of the Mohammedan sultans we may recognize a survival of a commerce which was active twenty-five hundred years ago.

Eighty colonies in the Euxine are said to have owned Miletus as their mother city. The coast of the sea became so crowded with Greek cities, and the whole region was so astir with Greek enterprise, that the Greeks came to regard this quarter of the world, once looked upon as so remote and inhospitable, as almost a part of the home country.

167. Colonies on the Ionian Islands and the Adjacent Shores. — At the same time that the tide of Hellenic migration was flowing

towards the north it was also flowing towards the west and covering the Ionian Islands and the coasts of Southern Italy and Sicily.

The group of islands lying off the western coast of Greece, known as the Ionian Isles, together with the adjacent continental shores, formed an important region of Greek colonization. Corinth, as was natural from her position, took a prominent part in the



MAGNA GRÆCIA AND SICILY

establishment of colonies here. One of the most important of her settlements was Corcyra. The relations of this colony to its mother city were very unfilial, and a quarrel between them was one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian War (sec. 232).

The colonies on the islands in the Ionian Sea formed the half-way station to Italy, and it was by the way of these settlements that Italy during the era of colonization received a large and steady stream of immigrants.

168. **Colonies in Southern Italy : Magna Græcia.** — At this time, Italy, with the exception of Etruria on the western coast, was occupied by tribes that had made but little progress in culture. The power of Rome had not yet risen. Hence the land was practically open to settlement by any superior or enterprising race.

Consequently it is not surprising that during the Greek colonizing era Southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, "Great Greece." Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important city of Taras, the Tarentum of the Romans (708 B.C.); the Æolian city of Sybaris (721 B.C.), noted for the luxurious life of its citizens, whence our term Sybarite, meaning a voluptuary;⁶ the great

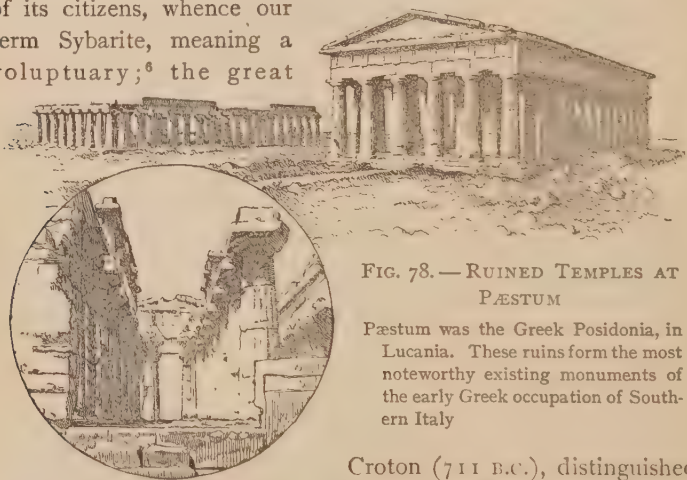


FIG. 78. — RUINED TEMPLES AT PÆSTUM

Paestum was the Greek Posidonia, in Lucania. These ruins form the most noteworthy existing monuments of the early Greek occupation of Southern Italy

Croton (711 B.C.), distinguished for its schools of philosophy and its victors in the Olympian games; and Rhegium (about 715 B.C.), the mother of statesmen, historians, poets, and artists.

Upon the western coast of the peninsula was the city of Cumæ (Cyme), famed throughout the Grecian and the Roman world

⁶ Sybaris is said, doubtless with exaggeration, to have been able to raise an army, counting subject allies, of three hundred thousand men. In a war with Croton it was wholly destroyed, all its inhabitants being either killed or driven into exile, and the lands of the city being taken possession of by the conquerors (510 B.C.). This destruction of so populous and wealthy a city was one of the heaviest calamities which up to that time had befallen the Hellenic world.

on account of its oracle and sibyl. This was probably the oldest Greek colony in Italy.

The chief importance of the cities of Magna Græcia for civilization springs from their relations to Rome. Through them, without doubt, the early Romans received many primary elements of culture, deriving thence probably their knowledge of letters as well as of Greek constitutional law (sec. 406).

169. Greek Colonies in Sicily and Southern Gaul. — The island of Sicily is in easy sight from the Italian shore. About the same time that the southern part of the peninsula was being filled with Greek colonists, this island was also receiving a swarm of immi-

grants. Here was planted by the Dorian Corinth the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage. Upon

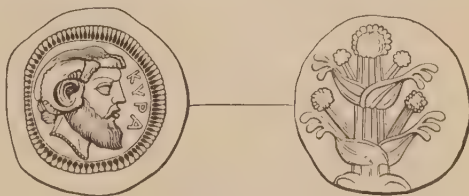


FIG. 79. — COIN OF CYRENE

the southern shore of the island arose Agrigentum (Acragas), which became, after Syracuse, the most important of the Greek cities in Sicily.

Sicily was the most disorderly and tumultuous part of Hellas. It was the "wild West" of the Hellenic world. It was the land of romance and adventure, and seems to have drawn to itself the most untamed and venturesome spirits among the Greeks. To the grounds of disorder and strife existing among the Greek colonists themselves were added two other elements of discord, — the native barbarians and the Phœnicians.

That part of Gaul which touches the Mediterranean where the Rhone empties into the sea was another region occupied by Greek colonists. A chief attraction here was the amber and tin brought overland from the Baltic and from Britain. Here were established several colonies, chief among which was Mas-salia (about 600 B.C.), the modern Marseilles.

170. Colonies in North Africa and Egypt: Cyrene and Naucratis. — In the seventh century B.C. the Greeks, in obedience to the commands of the Delphian Apollo, founded on the African coast, nearly opposite the island of Crete, the important colony of Cyrene, which became the metropolis of a large district known as Cyrenaica. The site of the city was one of the best on the African shore.

In the Nile delta the Greeks early established the important station of Naucratis. This colony was at the height of its prosperity in the sixth century B.C., although it certainly existed as early as the beginning of the seventh century. It was the gateway through which Hellenic influences passed into Egypt and Egyptian influences passed out into Greece.

171. Place of the Colonies in Grecian History. — The history of dispersed Hellas is closely interwoven with that of continental

Hellas. In truth, a large part of the history of Greece would be unintelligible should we lose sight of Greater Greece, just as a large part of the history of Europe since the seventeenth century cannot be understood without a knowledge

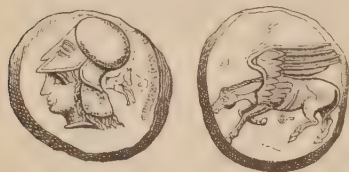


FIG. 80. — COIN OF CORINTH

of Greater Europe. In colonial interests, rivalries, and jealousies we shall find the inciting cause of many of the contentions and wars between the cities of the home land.

Indeed, the more we learn of the relations of the colonies to their mother cities and to the native races of the countries in which they were planted, the more clearly shall we recognize the vast significance for Greek history — and for universal history as well — of the colonization movement which we have been tracing. In its influence upon the social and intellectual development of mankind it may well be compared to that expansion of the English race which has established peoples of English speech and culture in so many lands and upon so many shores of both the Old and the New World.

Selections from the Sources.—HERODOTUS, iv. 150-153 and 156-159 on the part taken by the Delphian oracle in the founding of Cyrene.

References.—CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 432-500. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 163-220 and 247-275. ABBOTT, vol. i, pp. 333-365. HOLM, vol. i, chap. xxi. COX, vol. i, pp. 141-183. GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. iii, sec. i. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chap. ix. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. ii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Early Grecian History*, chap. vi. TIMAYENIS, vol. i, pt. ii, chap. v.

Topics for Special Study.—1. The Delphian oracle and Greek colonization. 2. Life in the Greek colonies. 3. A comparison of Greek and Roman colonies. 4. Colonies of subjects compared with colonies of citizens. See Freeman's *Greater Greece and Greater Britain*. 5. The decree establishing Brea. See Greenidge. Advanced students may consult Hicks' *Historical Inscriptions*, n. 29.



CHAPTER XVI

THE AGE OF THE TYRANTS

(About 650–500 B.C.)

172. The Character and Origin of the Greek Tyrannies. — As we have seen, the Homeric poems represent the preferred form of government in prehistoric times as having been a patriarchal monarchy (sec. 134). By the dawn of the historic period, however, these paternal monarchies of the Achæan age had given place, in almost all the chief cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. The power of the “Zeus-born” king had passed into the hands of the nobles of his former council.

A little later, just as the Homeric monarchies had been superseded by oligarchies, so were these in many of the Greek cities superseded by tyrannies.

By the term *tyrannos* (tyrant) the Greeks did not mean one who ruled harshly, but simply one who held the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek tyrants were mild and beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. Sparta was almost the only important state which did not at one time or another fall into the hands of a tyrant.

The so-called Age of the Tyrants lasted, speaking in a general way, from about 650 to 500 B.C., although we hear of tyrants ruling in some cities long before the earlier and in others long after the later date.

The causes that led to the overthrow in so many cities of oligarchic rule and the establishment of government by a single person were various. A main cause, however, of the rise of tyrannies is found in the misrule of the oligarchs, into whose hands the royal authority of earlier times had passed. By their selfish, cruel, and arbitrary administration of the government,

they provoked the revolt of the people and invited destruction. The factions, too, into which they were divided weakened their authority and paved the way for their fall.

Working with the above causes to undermine the influence of the oligarchs, was the advance in intelligence and wealth of the trading classes in the mercantile and commercial states of Greece, especially in the Ionian cities, and their resulting discontent with the oppressive rule of the aristocratic families and desire to participate in the government.

Generally the person setting up a tyranny was some ambitious disappointed member of the aristocracy, who had held himself out as the champion of the people, and who, aided by them, had succeeded in overturning the hated government of the oligarchs.

173. The Greek Feeling towards the Tyrants.—The tyrants sat upon unstable thrones. The Greeks, always lovers of freedom, had an inextinguishable hatred of these despots; and of course the nobles who were excluded from participation in public affairs, and who were often dealt harshly with by the tyrants and driven into exile, were continually plotting against them. Furthermore, the odious vices and atrocious crimes of some of them caused the whole class to be regarded with the utmost abhorrence,—so much so that tyrannicide (that is, the killing of a tyrant) came to be regarded by the Greeks as a supremely virtuous act. The slayer of a tyrant was looked upon as a devoted patriot and preëminent hero (sec. 187).

Consequently the tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived, rarely lasting longer than three generations. They were usually violently overthrown, and the old oligarchies reëstablished, or democracies set up in their place. Speaking broadly, the Dorian cities preferred aristocratic, and the Ionian cities democratic government.

Sparta, which state, as has been noted, never fell into the hands of a tyrant, was very active in aiding those cities that had been so unfortunate as to have their government usurped by despots to drive out the usurpers and to reëstablish their aristocratic

constitutions.¹ Athens, as we shall see, on escaping from the tyranny under which she for a time rested, — that of Pisistratus and his sons (secs. 185–187), — became the representative and ardent champion of democracy.

174. Typical Tyrants: Periander of Corinth (625–585 B.C.). — To repeat in detail the traditional accounts of all the tyrants that arose in the different cities of Hellas during the age of the tyrannies would be both wearisome and unprofitable; wearisome because the tales of the various despots possess a singular sameness, and unprofitable because these stories are often manifestly colored and distorted by popular prejudice and hatred, since the Greeks of a later time could hardly speak temperately of a tyrant, so unutterably odious to them was merely the name itself. We shall therefore simply give in brief form the story of two or three of these unconstitutional rulers, who may be taken as fair representatives of their class.

Among the most noted of the tyrants was Periander of Corinth (625–585 B.C.). According to Herodotus, Periander learned from Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, the art of playing the tyrant safely. Having sent a messenger to that despot to ask him respecting the best way to conduct his government, Thrasybulus is said to have conducted the envoy to a field of grain, and, as they walked through it, to have broken off and thrown away such heads as lifted themselves above the others. Then, without a word, he dismissed the messenger. The man, returning to Periander, reported that he had been able to secure from Thrasybulus not a single word of advice, but told how singularly he had acted in destroying the best of his crop of grain. Periander understood the parable, and straightway began to destroy all those citizens whose heads overtopped the others.

Periander maintained a court which rivaled in splendor that of an Oriental potentate. Like many another tyrant, he was a

¹ Her aim in this policy was to strengthen her own influence in these cities by preserving in them institutions like her own, and by keeping the control of their public affairs in the hands of a few families who should be under the necessity of looking to her for the support of their authority.

generous patron of artists and literary men. He was also, either through piety or through policy, a liberal patron of the gods. He revived the Isthmian games, adding to the festival gymnastic contests, and made splendid votive offerings to the temples at Olympia.

175. Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos (535-522 B.C.). — Another tyrant whose deeds were noised throughout the Hellenic world, and the vicissitudes of whose career left a deep impression upon the Greek imagination, was Polycrates of Samos (535-522 B.C.).

Polycrates established his rule in Samos in the way so common with the tyrants, — by overturning through violence the government of his own order, the oligarchs. Having made Samos his stronghold, Polycrates conquered many of the surrounding islands in the *Ægean*, together with several of the cities of the Asian mainland, and made himself the head of a maritime empire, which he maintained with a fleet that was the largest any Greek state had up to that time collected.

Like Periander, Polycrates maintained a magnificent court, to which, among other persons of fame and learning, he invited the celebrated lyric poet Anacreon, a native of Ionia, who seems to have enjoyed to the full the gay and easy life of a courtier, and who, inspired by the congenial atmosphere of his patron's palace, sung so voluptuously of love and wine and festivity that the term *Anacreontic* has come to be used to characterize all poetry over-redolent of these themes.

The astonishing good fortune and uninterrupted prosperity of the tyrant awakened, according to Herodotus, the alarm of his friend and ally, Amasis, king of Egypt, who became convinced that such felicity in the lot of a mortal must awaken the envy of the gods (sec. 145), and accordingly broke off his alliance with him.

The issue justified the worst fears of Amasis. Polycrates was lured to the Asian shore by a Persian satrap, a bitter enemy of his, and put to a shameful and cruel death.

176. Benefits conferred by the Tyrants upon Greek Civilization. — The rule of the tyrants conferred upon Greek civilization some benefits which, perhaps, could not have been so well secured under any other form of government.

Thus the tyrants, through the connections which they naturally formed with foreign kings and despots, broke the isolation in which the Greek cities up to this time had lived. Pheidon of Argos — a tyrant of the better class — was in close relations with the Lydian kings; and Polycrates, as we have seen, was the friend and ally of Amasis, king of Egypt. These connections between the courts of the tyrants and those of the rulers of Oriental countries opened the cities of the Hellenic world to the influences of those lands of culture, widened their horizon, and enlarged the sphere of their commercial enterprise.

Again, the tyrants, some of them at least, as for example Periander of Corinth, Polycrates of Samos, and Pisistratus of Athens, were liberal patrons of art and literature. Poetry and music flourished in the congenial atmosphere of their luxurious courts, while architecture was given a great impulse by the public buildings and works which many of them undertook with a view of embellishing their capitals, or of winning the favor of the poorer classes by creating opportunities for their employment. Thus it happened that the age of the tyrants was a period marked by an unusually rapid advance of many of the Greek cities in their artistic, intellectual, and industrial life.

In the political realm also the tyrants rendered eminent services to Greece. By depressing the oligarchies and lifting the people they created a sort of political equality between these rival orders of society, and thereby helped to pave the way for the incoming of democracy.

In still another way — in the way implied in Emerson's adage to the effect that bad kings help us, if only they are bad enough — did the tyrants render a great service to the cause of constitutional government in the Greek cities. As we have seen, they rendered rule by a single person unrestrained by law inexpressibly odious to the Greeks, and thus deepened their love for constitutional government and made them extremely watchful of their freedom. The bare suspicion that any person was scheming to make himself a tyrant was often enough to insure his immediate expulsion from the city or the infliction of some worse punishment.

Selections from the Sources. — HERODOTUS; consult Index for stories of Cypselus, Polycrates, and Periander. PAUSANIAS, v. 17-19.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vols. i and iii. Consult Index under *Tyrannis*. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 378-421. ABBOTT, vol. i, pp. 366-397, and. Introduction to vol. ii. HOLM, vol. i, chap. xxii. DUNCKER, vol. ii, pp. 295-431. FOWLER, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. iv and v. MAHAFFY, *Problems in Greek History*, chap. iv. COX, *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Polykrates." GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. ii. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 146-157. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chap. x.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Phalaris of Agrigentum. 2. The Tyrants as patrons of religion, art, and literature. 3. The chest of the Cypselids. See above, reference to *Pausanias*, for description. *Abbott* also may be consulted. 4. Tyranny as a stage in political development.



FIG. 81. — ATHENS. (From a photograph)

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CHAPTER XVII

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS UP TO THE PERSIAN WARS

177. The Attic People. — The population of Attica in historic times was essentially Ionian in race, but there were in it strains of other Hellenic stocks, besides some non-Hellenic elements as well. This mixed origin of the population is believed to be one secret of the versatile yet well-balanced character which distinguished the Attic people above all other branches of the Hellenic family. It is not the comparatively pure, but the mixed races, like the English people, that have made the largest contributions to civilization.¹

178. The Site of Athens. — Four or five miles from the sea, a little hill, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early settlers of the Attic plains. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginning of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

¹ One important fact connected with the prehistoric settlement of Attica is that the inhabitants seem never to have been subjected by a foreign race, as happened in the case of most of the districts of the Peloponnesus; for we find no class in Attica corresponding, for instance, to the Helots of Laconia. This circumstance had much to do in determining the course of Attic history.



PLATE VI.—THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (From a photograph)

179. The Kings of Athens. — In the Prehistoric Age Athens was ruled by kings, like all the other Grecian cities. The names of Theseus and Codrus are the most noted of the regal line.

To Theseus tradition ascribed the work of uniting the separate Attic villages or strongholds, twelve in number, into a single city-state. This prehistoric union, however or by whomsoever effected, laid the basis of the greatness of Athens. How much the union meant for Athens, how it stood related to her ascendancy afterwards in Greece, is perhaps shown by the history of Thebes. Although holding the same relation to Bœotia that Athens held to Attica, Thebes never succeeded in uniting the Bœotian towns into a single city-state, and consequently fretted away her strength in constant bickerings and wars with them.

180. The Archons. — Codrus was the last hereditary king of Athens. His successor, elected by the nobles from the royal family, was simply ruler for life. There were twelve life kings, and then (in 752 B.C.) the authority of the regal office was still further diminished by limiting the rule of the king to ten years. Forty years later the office was thrown open to all the nobles, and soon afterwards (in 682 B.C.) the term of office was reduced to one year. As the power of the king was diminished, his old-time duties were assigned to magistrates chosen by the nobles from among themselves. The outcome of these changes was that a little after the opening of the seventh century we find a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, standing at the head of the Athenian state. The old Homeric monarchy had become an oligarchy.

181. The Council of the Areopagus and the General Assembly. — Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.² This council was composed exclusively of ex-Archons, and consequently was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish transgressors.

² So called from the name of the hill "Ἀρειος πάγος," "Hill of Ares," which was the assembling place of the council.

There was no appeal from its decisions. This council was, at the opening of the historic period, the real power in the Athenian state.

In addition to the board of Archons and the Council of the Areopagus, there is some evidence of the existence of a general assembly (*Ἐκκλησία*, *Ecclesia*), in which all those who served in the heavy-armed forces of the state had a place.³

182. Classes in the Athenian State. — The leading class in the Athenian state were the nobles, or Eupatrids. These men were wealthy landowners, a large part of the best soil of Attica, it is said, being held by them. As already shown, all political authority was in their hands.

Beneath the nobles we find the body of the nominally free inhabitants. Many of them were tenants living in a state little removed from serfdom upon the estates of the wealthy nobles. They paid rent in kind to their landlords, and in case of failure to pay, they, together with their wives and children, might be seized by the proprietor and sold as slaves. Others owned their little farms, but at the time of which we are speaking had fallen in debt to the wealthy class, their fields being heavily mortgaged to the money lenders. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, these classes among the common people were filled with bitterness towards the nobles and were ready for revolution.

183. Draco's Code (621 B.C.). — It was probably to quiet the people and to save the state from anarchy⁴ that the nobles at this time appointed a person named Draco, one of their own order, to write out and publish the laws.⁵

³ The meetings of the *Ecclesia* in early times, until the construction of the Theater of Dionysus (sec. 315), were held on a low hill to the west of the Acropolis, supposed to be identical with the so-called Pnyx Hill of to-day. On the Pnyx Hill may be seen a platform mounted by steps, the whole cut out of the native rock (Fig. 86). This rock pulpit is believed to be the celebrated *bema* of the Athenian orators.

⁴ Taking advantage of the unrest in the state, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, had just made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the supreme power (the Rebellion of Cylon, 628 or 624 B.C.).

⁵ Up to this time the rules and customs of the city had been unwritten, and hence the Eupatrid magistrates, who alone administered the laws, could and often did interpret them unfairly in favor of their own class. The people demanded that the customs should be put in writing and published, so that every one might know just what they were (compare sec. 406).

In carrying into effect his commission, Draco probably did little more than reduce existing rules and customs to a definite and written form. The laws as published were very severe. Death was the penalty for the smallest theft. This severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written, "not in ink, but in blood." But Draco was not responsible for their harshness; he made them no harsher than they were in their unwritten form.

There was one real and great defect in Draco's work. He did not accomplish anything in the way of land or economic reform, and thus did nothing to give relief to those who were struggling with poverty and were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.⁶

184. The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.).—Shortly after the Draconian reforms a war broke out between Athens and Megara respecting the island of Salamis, to which both cities laid claim. The struggle finally ended in favor of Athens, but the burdens the war had entailed upon the Athenians rendered still more unendurable the condition of the poorer classes, and made still more urgent some measures of relief.

Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians placed their laws in the hands of a single man, to be remodeled as he might deem best. Solon, a man held in high esteem by all classes on account of distinguished services rendered to the state, particularly in the recent war with Megara, was selected to discharge this responsible duty. Solon turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He canceled all debts of every kind, both public and private.⁷ Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon prohibited the practice of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.

⁶ The authorities are not agreed as to whether or not Draco made any changes in the constitution.

⁷ This is Aristotle's account of the matter (*Athenian Constitution*, ch. 6). According to other accounts, Solon annulled only debts secured on land or on the person of the debtor. Solon also reformed the monetary system. There was no connection between this measure and the cancellation of debts, as was generally held before the recent discovery of Aristotle's work on the Athenian constitution.

Such were the most important of the economic reforms of Solon. His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four property classes into which the people were divided. The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote, but not to hold office. He also made other changes in the constitution whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them, but judged them in case they did wrong.

Besides these relief measures and constitutional reforms Solon enacted various laws in the interest of morality and good citizenship. The most noted of these ordinances is his so-called Sedition Law. Observing that in the frequent political contentions which disturbed the state, some of the citizens, consulting their personal comfort, refrained from taking part in the fight between the contending factions, Solon made a law to the effect that any one failing to take sides on such an occasion should forfeit his citizenship and be regarded as infamous. Solon's idea seems to have been that by this measure he would secure the more general participation in political affairs of "good citizens."⁸

185. Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant of Athens (560 B.C.).
—The reforms of Solon naturally worked hardship to many persons. These became bitter enemies of the new order of things. Moreover, the reformed constitution failed to work smoothly. Taking advantage of the situation, Pisistratus, an ambitious noble and a nephew of the lawgiver Solon, resolved to seize the supreme power. This man courted popular favor and called himself "the friend of the people." His uncle Solon seems to have been almost the only man who penetrated his designs. He told the citizens that Pisistratus was aiming to make himself

⁸ It is interesting to note that among the measures urged by modern reformers to correct the evils of modern democracy is found one, compulsory voting, which in principle is wholly like the Sedition Law of the Athenian statesman.

tyrant of Athens. But the people paid no heed to the warnings of Solon, and Pisistratus was left undisturbed to consummate his plot against the liberties of the city.

One day having inflicted many wounds upon himself, he drove his chariot hastily into the public square, and pretended that he had been thus set upon by the nobles, because of his devotion to the people's cause. The people voted him a guard of fifty men. Under cover of raising this company, Pisistratus gathered a much larger force, seized the Acropolis, and made himself master of Athens. Though twice expelled from the city, he as often returned and reinstated himself in the tyranny.

186. Character of the Rule of Pisistratus. — Pisistratus gave Athens a mild rule, and under him the city enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He may be taken as a type of the better class of Greek tyrants, and much that was said in an earlier chapter respecting the domestic and foreign policies of these rulers finds illustration in the circumstances of his reign.

It was, as we have seen, the general policy of the tyrants to strengthen themselves by means of foreign alliances. This we find Pisistratus doing. He entered into alliances with Sparta, Thebes, Macedonia, and other states. Through these various connections Pisistratus made firmer his position both at home and abroad, while giving at the same time a wider range to the growing fame of Athens and enlarging the field of enterprise of the Athenian traders.

But before all else was the tyrant, in imitation of so many others of his class, a liberal patron of the gods. He established what was known as the Great Panathenæa, a festival celebrated every fourth year in honor of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens;⁹ instituted a new festival in honor of Dionysus; and began at Athens the erection of a temple to Zeus Olympius on such a magnificent scale that it remained unfinished until the resources of the Roman emperor Hadrian, nearly seven hundred years later, carried the colossal building to completion.

⁹ An annual festival in honor of the same patron goddess continued to be celebrated as hitherto, but henceforth was known as the Less Panathenæa.

Nor did Pisistratus fail to follow the traditional policy of the tyrants in respect to the patronage of letters. He invited to his court the literary celebrities of the day. He is said to have caused the Homeric poems to be collected and edited, and to have gathered at Athens the first public library; but the testimony for the truth of these traditions is not of the highest character. He is

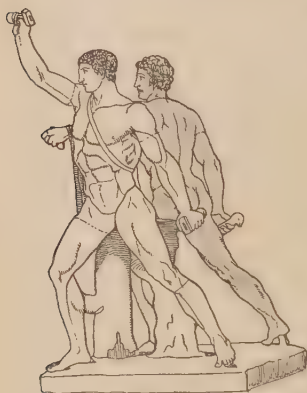


FIG. 82. — THE ATHENIAN TYRANNICIDES, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

Marble statues in the Naples Museum, recognized as ancient copies of the bronze statues set up at Athens in commemoration of the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchus

said also to have added to the embellishments of the Lyceum, a sort of public park just outside the city walls, which in after times became one of the favorite resorts of the poets, philosophers, and pleasure seekers of the capital.

187. Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.). — The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power. At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus, having insulted a young noble named Harmodius, this man, in connection with his friend Aristogiton and some others, planned to assassinate both the tyrants. Hip-

parchus was slain, but the plans of the conspirators miscarried as to Hippias. Harmodius was struck down by the guards of the tyrants, and Aristogiton, after having been tortured in vain in order to force him to reveal the names of the other conspirators, was put to death.

We have already spoken of how tyrannicide appeared to the Greek mind as an eminently praiseworthy act (sec. 173). This is well illustrated by the grateful and venerated remembrance in which Harmodius and Aristogiton were ever held by the

Athenians. Statues were raised in their honor (Fig. 82), and the story of their deed was rehearsed to the youth as an incentive to patriotism and self-devotion.

The plot had a most unhappy effect upon the disposition of Hippias. It caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed. With the help of the Spartans he was finally driven out of the city.

188. The Constitution of Clisthenes (508 B.C.). — Straightway upon the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias there arose a great strife between the commons led by Clisthenes, who wished to conduct the government on the lines drawn by Solon, and the nobles, who aimed at the restoration of the old aristocratic rule.

The issue was the triumph of the popular party. The constitution was now put into the hands of Clisthenes in order that he might mold it into a form still more democratic than that given it by Solon. Thus in the year 508 B.C. Clisthenes became the third great legislator of the Athenians.

The most important of Clisthenes' measures was that by which he conferred Athenian citizenship upon *all the free inhabitants of Attica*.¹⁰ This was what we should call an extension of the franchise. The measure made such a radical change in the constitution in the interest of the masses that Clisthenes rather than Solon is regarded by many as the real founder of the Athenian democracy.

189. Ostracism. — Among the other innovations or institutions of Clisthenes was the celebrated one known as *ostracism*. By

¹⁰ The population of Attica comprised originally four tribes (*φυλαί*). Each of the tribes contained three phratries or brotherhoods (*φρατρίαι*); the phratries were composed of gentes (*γέννη*) or clans; and the clans were made up of families. In place of these four tribes (they were not dissolved but merely deprived of all political significance) Clisthenes formed ten new tribes in which he enrolled all the freemen of Attica, including, it would seem, resident aliens and emancipated slaves. These new tribes, which were practically geographical divisions of Attica, were each made up of a number of local subdivisions called *demes*, or townships. The *demes* constituting any given tribe were scattered about Attica. The object of this was to break up the old factions, and also to give each tribe some territory in or near Athens, so that at least some of its members should be within easy reach of the meeting place of the Ecclesia. A few years after the creation of these new tribes an important change was made in the organization of the army. In place of the four *strategi* or generals who commanded the forces of the four old tribes, ten generals were now elected, one by each of the ten new tribes.

means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. Six thousand votes¹¹ cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was sought was written on a shell or a piece of pottery, in Greek *ostrakon* (ὄστρακον), whence the term *ostracism*.

The design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of the Pisistratidæ. It was first used to get rid of some of the old friends of the ex-tyrant Hippias who, the Athenians had reason to believe, were plotting for his return. Later the vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties, and when thus used was designed to put an end to dangerous contentions between powerful factions in the state. Thus the vote merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor. No stigma or disgrace attached to him.

The power that the device of ostracism lodged in the hands of the people was not always wisely used, and some of the ablest and most patriotic statesmen of Athens were sent into exile through the influence of some demagogue who for the moment had caught the popular ear.¹²

190. Sparta opposes the Athenian Democracy. — The aristocratic party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans also viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and, inviting Hippias over from Asia, tried to overthrow the new government and restore him to power. But they did not succeed in

¹¹ Or possibly a majority of the votes cast in an assembly of not less than six thousand citizens. The authorities are not clear.

¹² The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (418 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man, Hyperbolus by name, whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This, it is said, was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man or honor a bad one by a resort to the measure.

their purpose, because their allies refused to aid them in such an undertaking, and Hippias went away to Persia to seek aid of King Darius. We shall hear of him again.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Solon*. ARISTOTLE, *Athenian Constitution*, 13-19.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 316-431. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 422-529; vol. iii, pp. 324-398. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. ix, xiii, and xv. The accounts of the Athenian constitution in Curtius, Grote, and Abbott, which were written before the discovery of the Aristotelian treatise, must be read with caution and under the light of the new evidence. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. xxvi-xxviii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Early Grecian History*, chaps. xii-xv. COX, *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Solon," "Peisistratus," and "Kleisthenes." GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, secs. 1-3. GILBERT, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* (last half). OMAN, *History of Greece*, chaps. xi and xii. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. iv, sec. iv; and chap. v, sec. ii. Youthful readers will enjoy HARRISON, *Story of Greece*, chaps. xvi-xviii.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Legends of Solon. 2. The Alcmaeonidæ and the Delphian temple and oracle. 3. The constitution of Cleisthenes. 4. The story of Athena and Poseidon. 5. Was ostracism defensible? See *Grote*. 6. The rebellion of Cylon.



CHAPTER XVIII

HELLAS OVERSHADOWED BY THE RISE OF PERSIA: PRELUDE TO THE PERSIAN WARS

191. The Real Cause of the Persian Wars. — In a foregoing chapter on Greek colonization we showed how the expansive energies of the Greek race, chiefly during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., covered the islands and shores of the Mediterranean world with a free, liberty-loving, progressive, and ever-growing population of Hellenic speech and culture.

The first half of the sixth century had barely passed before this promising expansion movement was first checked and then seriously cramped by the rise of a great despotic Asiatic power, the Persian Empire, which, pushing outward from its central-seat on the table-lands of Iran to the Ægean Sea, before the close of the century had subjugated the Greek cities of Asia Minor and was threatening to overwhelm in like manner those of European Greece. Here must be sought the real cause of the memorable wars between Hellas and Persia.

To understand, then, the character and import of the contest which we are approaching, we must now turn from our study of the rising cities of Greece in order to cast a glance at this colossal empire whose giant shadow was thus darkening the bright Hellenic world, and whose steady encroachments upon the Greek cities threatened to leave the Greeks no standing room on the earth.

As we have already watched from the standpoint of the Oriental world the rise of the Persian Empire (Chapter IX), we shall here notice only those conquests of the Persian kings which concerned the Hellenic race, in whose fortunes we cannot now but feel an absorbing interest.

192. Import for Greece of the Fall of the Lydian Kingdom (about 546 B.C.). — It will be recalled that the Persian Empire was founded

by Cyrus the Great (sec. 96). Of his various conquests it concerns us here to note only that of the Lydian kingdom and the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

The fall of the Lydian kingdom has a special significance for Grecian history from the fact that power in Asia Minor now passed from the hands of the tolerant, Greek-loving Lydian kings into the hands of intolerant, Greek-hating Persians. The rulers of Lydia appreciated Greek civilization, and were friends of the Greek gods and patrons of the Greek shrines. The Persian kings, however, speaking generally,¹ were ignorant and disdainful of Greek culture, and as monotheists were naturally hostile to Greek worship. The Greeks had now good reason, as Curtius says, to tremble for city, temple, and altar.

193. Conquest by Cyrus of the Asiatic Greek Cities (546-544 B.C.).—The Greek cities of the Asian coast which had formed part of the Lydian kingdom soon realized of what serious concern to them was the revolution that had transferred authority in Asia Minor from Lydian to Persian hands. Cyrus had asked them to join him in his war against Cræsus, but all except Miletus, satisfied with the easy conditions which that king had imposed upon them, refused to listen to any proposal of the kind.

Upon the downfall of Cræsus, these cities hastened to offer submission to the conqueror, asking that he would allow them to retain all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Lydian monarchy. Cyrus refused their petition. Thereupon they closed their gates against him, and resolved to fight for their liberties. In a short time, however, all were reduced to submission.

Many of the Ionians, rather than live in Ionia as slaves, abandoned their old homes and sought new ones among the colonies of Western Hellas and on the Thracian shore. All the remaining inhabitants of the Asian Greek cities, together with those of the large islands of Chios and Lesbos, became subjects of the Persian king. The cities retained the management of their own affairs, under such governments as they chanced to have, but were forced to pay tribute, and to furnish contingents to the army of their master.

¹ Cyrus was liberal-minded and tolerant.

Thus at one blow was the whole of the eastern shore of the *Ægean*, the cradle and home of the earliest development in Greek poetry, philosophy, and art, lost to the Hellenic world.

194. Conquest of Phœnicia, Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene by Cambyses (529–522 B.C.). — Under Cyrus' son, Cambyses, the Persian power pressed still more heavily upon the Greek world.

Cambyses first brought the cities of Phœnicia under his authority, and thus obtained control of their large naval resources. Straightway their galleys were ordered to be put in readiness to aid in the proposed subjection of Egypt. To the Phœnician fleet when collected was added a large contingent of ships furnished by the Asian Greeks, who were thus compelled to assist their master in reducing to slavery the rest of the world. Cyprus, a dependency of Egypt, was now conquered, and the naval strength of that island added to the already formidable armament of the Persian king.

Supported by his fleet, Cambyses marched his army from Syria into Egypt and, as already stated (sec. 97), speedily brought that country under his control. The conquest of Egypt drew after it the subjection to the Persian power of the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca on the African coast.

This extension of the authority of the Persian king over Phœnicia, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Greek colonies of the African shore, was another severe blow to Greek interests and Greek independence. The naval armaments of all these maritime countries were now subject to the orders of the Persian despot, and were ready to be turned against those of the Greeks who still were free.

195. Destruction of the Sea Power of Polycrates in the *Ægean* (522 B.C.). — But it was the extension of the Persian authority in the West that most intimately concerned the Greek world. The year preceding the accession of Darius I to the Persian throne had witnessed the fall of Polycrates (sec. 175) and the virtual destruction of his maritime empire in the *Ægean*.

The dominion of Polycrates was scarcely more, it is true, than a piratical sea power; yet it was a Greek state, and might have proved, in the critical time fast approaching, an effectual barrier

in the Ægean against the barbarian wave of conquest which now threatened to overwhelm even the cities of European Greece.

196. The Scythian Expedition of Darius I; Conquests in Europe (513? B.C.).—The growing anxiety of the Greeks in the home land was intensified by the passage of the Bosphorus, about the year 513 B.C., by an immense Persian army led by Darius in person, and aimed at the Scythians, old foes of the Asian peoples, inhabiting the bleak steppes which comprise South Russia of to-day.

The outcome of this expedition was the addition of both Thrace and Macedonia, together with important islands in the Northern Ægean, to the Persian Empire, and in the advance of its western frontier to the passes of the mountains which guard Greece on the north.

The greater part of the shores of the Ægean was now in the possession of the Great King.² That sea which had so long been the special arena of Greek activity and Greek achievement had become practically a Persian lake. Moreover, through the loss of the Hellespontine regions the Greeks were cut off from the Euxine, which had come to be such an important part of the Hellenic world.

197. The Rise of the Persian Power in the East synchronizes with the Rise of the Power of Carthage in the West.—At the same time that the Greeks of the Eastern Mediterranean were thus falling under the yoke of the Persians, and the liberty of the cities in the home land was being threatened with extinction, the Greeks in Sicily were being hard pressed by another barbarian people, the Phœnicians. The power of Carthage was rising, and the Greek cities of Sicily were just now engaging in a doubtful contest with her for the possession of the island. Thus all round the horizon threatening clouds were darkening the once bright prospects of the Hellenic world.

It was, indeed, a critical moment in the history of the Greek race. As Ranke says, "It cannot be denied that the energetic Greek world was in danger of being crushed in the course of its vigorous development."

² Consult map after p. 92.

Selections from the Sources. — HERODOTUS, i. 152, 153 and iv. 137; will afford a glimpse into the thought of the times.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 112-193. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 399-491. ABBOTT, vol. i, pp. 486-506. HOLM, vol. i, chap. xxiii. OMAN, *History of Greece*, pp. 118-140. TIMAYENIS, vol. i, pt. iii, chap. i. COX, *The Greeks and Persians*, chap. iii. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 223-241. HARRISON, *Story of Greece*, chaps. xxiii-xxv.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Cræsus and Delphi. 2. Character and culture of the Asiatic Greeks.

only course left to the Ionians was to draw as many cities as possible into the revolt. They accordingly stirred up to rebellion against the Persian king all the Greek cities of the Hellespont and the Propontis, together with the Carians, and all the Greek and barbarian cities, save one, on the island of Cyprus. The movement threatened the destruction of the Persian power in all those regions where its yoke had been laid upon the neck of once free Hellenes.

This was an opportune time for setting fast limits to the threatening advance of the Persian arms, and had Sparta and Athens with the other cities of Greece only lent such aid to their Asiatic kinsmen as considerations of duty and prudence dictated, the decisive battle between Greek and barbarian might have been fought in this Ionian war, and European Greece have been saved from the great invasion. But the inability of the Greek cities to stand together in a common cause was never more lamentably illustrated than at just this moment.

The military resources of the Great King were now collected for the suppression of the rebellion which thus at a blow had separated from his empire the long reach of Asiatic coast land from the Bosphorus to Lycia. The land and sea forces of the Persians closed in around Miletus. After a long siege the city was taken. The most of the men were slain, while the women and children were carried off in a body and settled near the mouth of the Tigris.

The cruel fate of Miletus stirred deeply the feelings of the Athenians. They must have felt that they themselves were, in a measure at least, responsible for the calamity, through their desertion of the cause of their kinsmen. When, the year following the fall of the city, there was presented in the theater at Athens a drama entitled the *Capture of Miletus*, the people were moved to tears, and afterwards fined the author "for recalling to them their own misfortune." They also made a law forbidding the presentation of the piece again.

The remaining cities of Ionia shared the fate of Miletus. They were sacked and destroyed, and the fairest of the boys

and maidens were carried off for the service of the Great King. Also all the Greek cities on the European side of the Hellespont were taken and burned.

The first serious attempt of the enslaved Greeks to recover their lost freedom was thus suppressed. The eastern half of the Greek world, filled with the ruins of once flourishing cities, and bearing everywhere the cruel marks of barbarian warfare, lay again in vassalage to the Great King. "The mild Ionian heavens did their part to heal the wounds: the waste places were again in time built upon, and cities, such as Ephesus, bloomed again in great prosperity; but as to a history of Ionia, that was for all time past."²

200. The First Expedition of Darius against Greece (492 B.C.). — With the Ionian revolt crushed and punished, Darius determined to chastise the European Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, for their insolence in giving aid to his rebellious subjects.

A large land and naval armament was fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, three hundred ships being lost (492 B.C.).

201. Darius' Second Expedition (490 B.C.). — Undismayed by this disaster, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Meanwhile he sent heralds to the various Grecian states to demand earth and water, which elements among the Persians were symbols of submission. The weaker states gave the tokens required; but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells, and bade them help themselves to what earth and water they wanted.

By the beginning of the year 490 B.C., another Persian army of 120,000 men had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece. This armament was intrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes, but was under the guidance of the traitor Hippias (sec. 190). A fleet of six hundred ships

² Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, vol. i, p. 629 (6th ed.).

bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the Ægean towards the Grecian shores.

After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely one day's journey from Athens. Here is a sheltered bay, which is edged by a crescent-shaped plain, backed by the rugged ranges of Parnes and Pentelicus. Upon this level ground the Persian generals drew up their army, flushed and confident with their recent successes.

202. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.).—The Athenians made surpassing efforts to avert from their city the impending destruction. Instead of awaiting behind their walls the coming of the Persians, they decided to offer them battle in the open field at Marathon. Accordingly they marched out 10,000 strong.

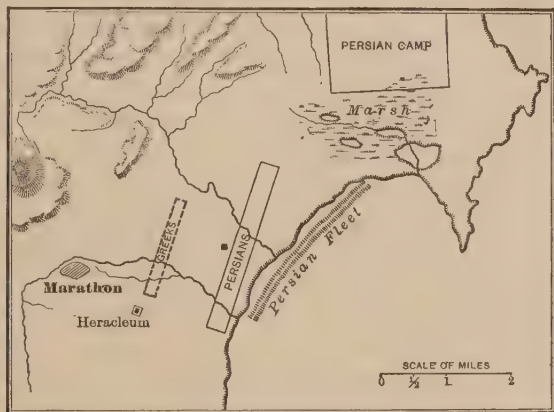
While the Athenians were getting ready for the fight, a fleet runner, Phidippides by name, was hurrying with a message to Sparta for aid. The practical value of the athletic training of the Greeks was now shown. In just thirty-six hours Phidippides was in Sparta, which is one hundred and thirty-five or forty miles from Athens. He informed the Spartans of the capture of Eretria by the barbarians, and besought their immediate aid, that Athens, the most ancient of Grecian states, might not suffer a similar fate. But it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full of the moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, dared not set out upon a military expedition. Nevertheless, they promised aid, but marched from Sparta only in time to reach Athens after all was over.

The Plateæans, however, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians on account of the protection they had accorded them against the Thebans, no sooner had received their appeal for help than they responded to a man, and joined them at Marathon with a thousand heavy-armed soldiers.

The Athenians and their faithful allies took up their position just where the hills of Pentelicus sink into the plain of Marathon. The Persian host, numbering 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry,

occupied the low ground in their front, while their war ships and transports covered the beach behind.

The Athenians resolved to attack the enemy and not wait to be attacked. Sacrifices having been offered and the omens being auspicious, the charge was sounded and the Greeks advanced on a run towards the Persian lines. The issue of the battle was for a time doubtful. Then the tide turned in favor of the Athenians.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

The Persians were pushed back towards the shore and driven to their ships with great slaughter.

Miltiades, the Athenian general who was in supreme command, at once dispatched a courier to Athens with intelligence of his victory. The messenger reached the city in a few hours, but so breathless that, as the people thronged eagerly around him to hear the news he bore, he could merely gasp, "Victory is ours," and fell dead.

But the danger was not yet over. The Persians, instead of returning to the coast of Asia, bore down upon Athens, thinking to take the city before the Athenian army could return from Marathon. Miltiades, however, informed by watchers on the hills of the movements of the enemy, straightway set out with his little

army for the capital, which he reached just at evening, probably on the day following the fight at Marathon. The next morning when the Persian generals would have made an attack upon Athens, they found themselves confronted by the same men who had beaten them back from the Marathon shore. Shrinking from another encounter with these citizen soldiers, the Persians spread their sails and bore away for the Ionian shore.

The day following the battle the Spartans, two thousand in number, arrived at Athens. Before returning home they visited the battlefield and looked upon the yet unburied bodies of the Persians.³ They bestowed generous praise upon the Athenians for the brave fight they had made, and, true soldiers as they were, doubtless regretted that they had not had part in it.

Thus the cloud that had lowered so threateningly over Hellas was for a time dissipated. The most imposing honors were accorded to the heroes who had achieved the glorious victory, and their names and deeds were transmitted to posterity in song and marble. The bodies of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who had fallen were buried on the field, and an enormous mound of earth was raised over them.

203. Results of the Battle of Marathon. — The battle of Marathon is justly reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks a turning point in the history of humanity. The battle decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of the West, with all its incentives to personal effort, should mark the future centuries of history. The tradition of the fight forms the prelude of the story of human freedom and progress.

Again, by the victory Hellenic civilization was saved to mature its fruit, not for Hellas alone but for the world. We cannot conceive what European civilization would be like without those rich and vitalizing elements contributed to it by the Greek, and especially by the Athenian, genius. But the germs of all these might have been smothered and destroyed had the barbarians won the day at Marathon. Ancient Greece, as a satrapy of the Persian

³ Herodotus makes the loss of the Persians 6400.

Empire, would certainly have become what modern Greece became as a province of the empire of the Ottoman Turks.

Moreover, the overwhelming defeat which the handful of Athenian freemen had inflicted upon the immense hordes of the Great King broke the spell of the Persian name and destroyed forever the prestige of the Persian arms. The victory gave the Hellenic peoples that position of authority and preëminence that had been so long held by the successive races of the East. It marked the beginning of European history.

The great achievement further especially revealed the Athenians to themselves. The consciousness of resources and power became the inspiration of their after deeds. They did great things thereafter because they believed themselves able to do them. From the battle of Marathon dates the beginning of the great days of imperial Athens.

204. Miltiades falls into Disgrace.—The distinguished services Miltiades had rendered his country made him the hero of the hour at Athens. Taking advantage of his popularity, he persuaded the Athenians to put in his hands a fleet for an enterprise respecting the nature of which no one save himself was to know anything whatever. Of course it was generally supposed that he meditated an attack upon the Persians or their allies, and with full faith in the judgment as well as in the integrity of their favorite, the Athenians gave him the command he asked.

But Miltiades abused the confidence placed in him. He led the expedition against the island of Paros simply to avenge some private wrong. The undertaking was unsuccessful, and Miltiades, severely wounded, returned to Athens, where he was brought to trial for his conduct. His eminent services at Marathon pleaded eloquently for him, and he escaped being sentenced to death, but was subjected to a heavy fine. This he was unable to pay, and, being cast into prison, died soon after from the effects of his wound. His son Cimon afterwards paid the fine. But the stain of Miltiades' act could not be effaced even by filial piety, and a dark blot remained upon a reputation otherwise the most resplendent in Grecian history.

205. Themistocles and his Naval Policy. — At this time there came prominently forward at Athens a man whose genius, aided by favoring circumstances, was to create the naval greatness of the Athenian state. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, farsighted, versatile statesman, who, in his own words, though “he knew nothing of music and song, did know how of a small city to make a great one.” He was an ambitious man, whom “the trophies of Miltiades robbed of sleep.”

Athens was at this time engaged in a war with the island of Ægina. Themistocles saw clearly that this war could be brought to a successful issue only through the adoption by Athens of a maritime policy that should transform her land forces into a naval power overwhelmingly superior to that of her rival.

But it was not alone this enemy close at hand that Themistocles had in view. While many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon had freed Athens forever from the danger of another Persian attack, Themistocles was clear-sighted enough to perceive that that battle was only the beginning of a tremendous struggle between Hellas and Persia, and the signal for still another and more formidable invasion of Greece by the barbarians. Hence he labored incessantly to persuade the Athenians to strengthen their navy as the only reliable defense of Hellas against subjection to the Persian power.

206. Aristides opposes the Policy of Themistocles and is ostracized (483 B.C.). — Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. This seemed to him a wide departure from the traditions of the fathers. The contention grew so sharp between the two that ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell,

the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy without any serious opposition, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.⁴

207. Xerxes' Preparations to invade Greece. — No sooner had the news of the disaster at Marathon been carried to Darius than he began to make gigantic preparations to avenge this second defeat and insult. It was in the midst of these plans for revenge that, as we have already learned, death cut short his reign, and his son Xerxes came to the throne.

Urged on by his nobles as well as by exiled Greeks at his court, who sought to gratify ambition or enjoy revenge in the humiliation and ruin of their native land, Xerxes, though at first disinclined to enter into a contest with the Greeks, at length ordered the preparations begun by his father to be pushed forward with the utmost energy. For eight years all Asia was astir with the work of preparation. Levies were made upon all the provinces that acknowledged the authority of the Great King, from India to Macedonia, from the regions of the Oxus to those of the Upper Nile. From all the maritime states upon the Mediterranean were demanded vast contingents of war galleys, transport ships, and naval stores.

While these land and sea forces were being gathered and equipped, gigantic works were in progress on the Thracian coast and on the Hellespont to insure the safety and facilitate the march of the coming hosts.

It will be recalled that the expedition of Mardonius was ruined by the destruction of his fleet in rounding the promontory of Mount Athos (sec. 200). That the war ships and transports

⁴ Circumstances happily concurred in the advancement of Themistocles' plans just at this time there was a large sum of money in the treasury of the city, which had been derived from the public silver mines at Laurium, in the southeastern part of Attica. This money was about to be divided among the citizens; Themistocles persuaded them to devote it to the building of war ships.

of the present armament, upon the safety of which the success of his undertaking so wholly depended, should not be exposed to the dangers of a passage around this projecting tongue of land, Xerxes determined to dig a canal across the neck of the isthmus. This great work consumed three years. Traces of the cutting may be seen to-day.

At the same time that the canal at Mount Athos was being excavated, a still more gigantic work was in progress upon the Hellespont. Here Europe was being bound to Asia by a double bridge of boats, probably at a point where the strait is about one and a half miles in width. This work was in the hands of Egyptian and Phœnician artisans.

By the spring of the year 481 B.C. the preparations for the long-talked-of expedition were about completed, and in the fall of that year we find Xerxes upon his way to Sardis, which had been selected as the rendezvous of the contingents of the great army of invasion.

Just as Xerxes was about to march from Sardis, news was brought to him that the bridges across the Hellespont had been broken by a violent storm. Herodotus relates that Xerxes was thrown into a great passion by this intelligence, and ordered the architects of the bridges to be put to death and the Hellespont to be scourged with three hundred lashes. The scourgers carried out obediently the orders of their master, and as they lashed the traitorous and rebellious waters cursed them "in non-Hellenic and blasphemous words."

408. Disunion of the Greeks : Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.).—Startling rumors of the gigantic preparations that the Persian king was making to crush them were constantly borne across the Ægean to the ears of the Greeks in Europe. Finally came intelligence that Xerxes was about to begin his march. Something must now be done to meet the impending danger. Mainly through the exertions of Themistocles, a council of the Greek cities was convened at Corinth in the fall of 481 B.C.

But on account of feuds, jealousies, and party spirit, only a small number of the states of Hellas could be brought to act

in concert. Argos would not join the proposed confederation through hatred of Sparta; Thebes, through jealousy of Athens. The Cretans, to whom an embassy had been sent soliciting aid, refused all assistance. The Corcyræans promised to help, but they were not sincere. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, offered to send over a large armament, provided he were given the chief command of the allied forces. His aid on such terms was refused.

Thus, through different causes, many of the Greek cities held aloof from the confederation, so that only about fifteen or sixteen states were brought to unite their resources against the barbarians; and even the strength of many of these cities that entered into the alliance was divided by party spirit. The friends of aristocratic government were almost invariably friends of Persia, because the Persian king looked with more favor upon aristocratic than democratic government in his subject Greek cities. Thus, for the sake of a party victory, the oligarchs were ready to betray their country into the hands of the barbarians.

Furthermore, the Delphian oracle was wanting in courage, if not actually disloyal, and by its timid responses disheartened the patriot party.

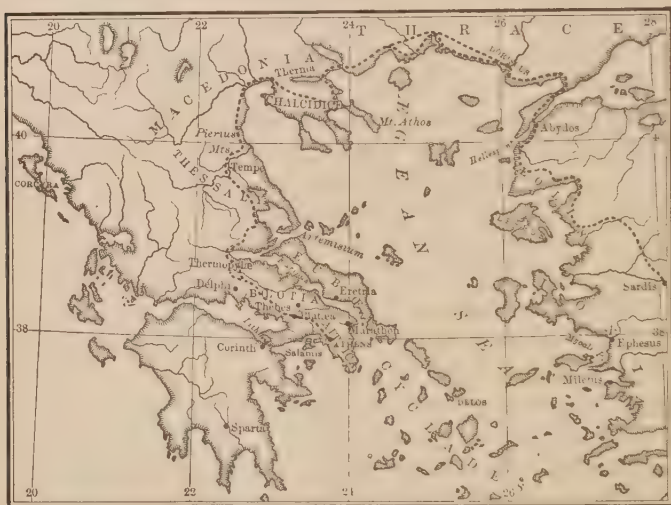
But under the inspiration of Themistocles the patriots in convention at Corinth determined upon desperate resistance to the barbarians. It was at first decided to concentrate a strong force in the Vale of Tempe, and at that point to dispute the advance of the enemy; but this being found impracticable, it was resolved that the first stand against the invaders should be made at the Pass of Thermopylæ.

The Spartans were given the chief command of both the land and the naval forces. The Athenians might fairly have insisted upon their right to the command of the allied fleet, but they patriotically waived their claim for the sake of harmony.

209. The Passage of the Hellespont. — With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus,

is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the European shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census.⁵ The enumeration completed, the immense army, accompanied along the shore by the fleet, marched forward through Thrace, and so on toward Greece.



MAP ILLUSTRATING INVASION OF GREECE BY XERXES

210. The Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.). — Leading from Northern into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or Hot Gates.

At this point, in accordance with the decision of the Corinthian congress, was offered the first resistance to the progress of the

⁵ According to Herodotus, the land and naval forces of Xerxes amounted to 2,317,000 men, besides about 2,000,000 slaves and attendants. It is certain that these figures are a great exaggeration, and that the actual number of the Persian army could not have exceeded 600,000 men aside from attendants and camp followers.

Persian army. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states, held the pass. As the Greeks were about to celebrate the Olympic games, which their religious scruples would not allow them to postpone, they left this little handful of men unsupported to hold in check the great army of Xerxes until the festival days should be past.

The Spartans could be driven from their advantageous position only by an attack in front, as the Grecian fleet prevented Xerxes from landing a force in their rear. Before assaulting them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them." For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. The Asiatics were driven to the attack by their officers armed with whips. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed ; even the Ten Thousand Immortals, the bodyguard of the Great King, were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek, Ephialtes by name, "the Judas of Greece," rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. A byway leading over the mountains to the rear of the Spartans was revealed to Xerxes. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. He saw instantly that all was lost. The allies were permitted to seek safety in flight while opportunity remained ; but for him and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defense of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor ; but, overwhelmed by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished seven hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their companions.

The fight at Thermopylæ echoed through all the after centuries of Grecian history. The Greeks felt that all Hellas had gained great glory on that day when Leonidas and his companions fell, and they gave them a chief place among their national heroes.

Memorial pillars marked for coming generations the sacred spot, while praising inscriptions and epitaphs told in brief phrases the story of the battle. Among these was an inscription in special memory of the Spartans who had fallen, which, commemorating at once Spartan law and Spartan valor, read, "Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their commands!"⁶

211. The Athenians abandon their City and betake Themselves to their Ships. — Athens now lay open to the invaders. The Peloponnesians, thinking of their own safety simply, commenced throwing up defenses across the Isthmus of Corinth, working day and night under the impulse of an almost insane fear. Athens was thus left outside to care for herself.

Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant."

But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains; others, that the oracle meant they should defend the Acropolis, which in ancient times had been surrounded with a wooden palisade; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors.

⁶ While Leonidas and his men were striving to hold the pass, the Greek fleet, stationed at Artemisium at the head of the island of Eubœa, was endeavoring to prevent the Persian fleet from entering the strait between the island and the mainland. For three days the Greeks fought here the Persian ships (the battle of Artemisium), and then, upon receipt of the news that the pass was lost, retreated down the Eubœan straits, and came to anchor in the gulf of Salamis, near Athens.

A few days afterwards the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, which they rendered more desolate by ravaging the fields and burning the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate, and her temples sank in flames. Sardis was avenged. The joy in distant Susa was unbounded.

212. **The Naval Battle of Salamis** (480 B.C.). — Just off the coast of Attica, separated from the mainland by a narrow passage of water, lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet,⁷ awaiting the Persian attack. To hasten on the attack before



ATHENS AND SALAMIS

dissensions should divide the Greek forces, Themistocles resorted to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Xerxes representing that he himself was ready to espouse the Persian cause, and advised an immediate attack upon the allied fleet, which he represented as being in no condition to make any formidable resistance. Xerxes was deceived. He ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.⁸

⁷ Under the supreme command of the Spartan Eurybiades.

⁸ The entire Persian fleet numbered about 750 vessels; the Grecian, about 380 ships, mostly triremes.

The blow was decisive. Xerxes, fearing that treachery might burn or break the Hellespontine bridges, instantly dispatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with three hundred thousand men to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, and effect, as he promised to do, the conquest of the rest of Greece, the monarch with a strong escort made an ignominious retreat into Asia.

213. Mardonius tries to bribe the Athenians; the Battle of Plataea (479 B.C.).—With the opening of the spring of 479 B.C., Mardonius sent an embassy to Athens, promising the Athenians many things provided they would come over to the Persian side. The Athenians' reply was, "While the sun holds his course in the heavens, we will never form a league with the Persian king."

Upon receiving this answer Mardonius, breaking up his winter camp in Thessaly, marched south, and, after ravaging Attica



FIG. 84. — HOPLITE, OR HEAVY-ARMED GREEK WARRIOR

anew, withdrew into Boeotia. Sitting down in a fortified camp near Thebes, he awaited the coming of the Greeks. Here the Greeks confronted him with the largest army they had ever gathered.⁹ In the battle which followed, known as the battle of Plataea, Mardonius was slain and his army virtually annihilated.

214. The Battle of Mycale (479 B.C.).—Upon the same day, ac-

cording to tradition, that the Greeks won the victory over the Persian army at Plataea, they gained another over a combined land and sea force at Cape Mycale in Ionia.¹⁰

This victory at Mycale was a fitting sequel to the one at Plataea: that had freed European Greece from the presence of the barbarians; this, in the phrase of Herodotus, "restored to Grecian

⁹ There were 110,000 men, of which number 38,000 were hoplites. The Spartan Pausanias was in chief command.

¹⁰ The Spartan king Leotychides was in chief command of the allied Greek fleet.

freedom the Hellespont and the islands." For straightway Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and other islands of the Ægean that had been in vassalage to Persia were now liberated, and received as members into the confederacy of the patriot states of the mother land.¹¹

215. Memorials and Trophies of the War. — The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout Greece. Poets, artists, and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger.

Nor did the pious Greeks think that the marvelous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Plataea; and upon the Acropolis at Athens was erected a colossal statue of Athena, made from the brazen arms gathered from the field at Marathon, while within the sanctuary of the goddess were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the audacious and impious attempt to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

Selections from the Sources. — ÆSCHYLUS, *The Persians*; an historical drama which celebrates the victory of Salamis. HERODOTUS, v. 49-54; Aristagoras pleads before Cleomenes. PLUTARCH, *Life of Themistocles* and *Life of Aristides*.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 209-238 and 271-331. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 492-521; vol. iv, pp. 102-201 and 242-294. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 74-139 and 175-205. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. i-iv. COX, *The Greeks and the Persians*. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. i, "The Battle of Marathon." CHURCH, *Pictures from Greek Life and Story*, chaps. iii-viii; for youthful readers. Teachers will find valuable topographical material in GRUNDY, *The Great Persian War*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Delphian oracle in the Persian Wars. 2. Themistocles. 3. Æschylus' *The Persians*. 4. Incidents of the battle of Salamis. 5. The story of Plataea.

¹¹ On the very day of the battle of Salamis, according to tradition, Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, gained a great victory over the Carthaginians under Hamilcar at the battle of Himera, in the north of Sicily. So it was a memorable day for Hellas in the West as well as in the East.

CHAPTER XX

THE MAKING OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

(479-445 B.C.)

216. The Rebuilding of Athens; the New Walls. — After the battle of Plataea and the expulsion of the barbarians from Greece, the Athenians who had found an asylum at Salamis, Ægina, and other places returned to Athens. They found only a heap of ruins where their city had once stood.

Under the lead of Themistocles, the people with admirable spirit set themselves to the task of rebuilding their homes and erecting new walls. The exalted hopes for the future of their city which had been raised in the Athenians by their almost incredible achievements during the past few months, together with their resolve to create an asylum large enough to receive the whole population of Attica in case of another invasion, so that they should never again be forced to become exiles without a city, led them to trace a vast circuit of seven miles around the Acropolis as the line of the new ramparts.

The rival states of the Peloponnesian League watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. The Spartans sent an embassy to dissuade them from rebuilding their walls, hypocritically assigning as the ground of their interest in the matter their fear lest, in case of another Persian invasion, the city, if captured, should become a stronghold for the enemy. But the Athenians persisted in their purpose, and in a marvelously short time had raised the wall to such a height that they could defy interference.

217. The Fortifications of the Piræus (478-477 B.C.). — At the same time that the work of restoration was going on at Athens, the fortifications of the harbor of Piræus, begun, as we have seen, at an earlier date (sec. 206), were being enlarged and strengthened.

Themistocles was here merely carrying out the maritime policy which he had formulated for the Athenians before the invasion of Xerxes, and to which the circumstances of the past few months had given a most emphatic indorsement. That Athens' supremacy depended upon control of the sea had become plain to all. Consequently the haven town was now surrounded with walls even surpassing in strength and fully equaling in compass the new walls of the upper city. The Piræus soon grew into a bustling commercial city, one of the chief centers of trade in the Hellenic world.

In close connection with Themistocles' policy respecting the Piræus itself stands his policy in regard to the Athenian navy. The advice which he had given the Athenians respecting the creation of a fleet had proved so wise and prescient that they were quite ready now to listen to his further counsel, so that he easily led them to the resolve to add each year twenty well-equipped triremes to the fleet with which they had fought at Salamis.¹

218. The Treachery of Pausanias. — While the building operations we have described were going on at Athens and the Piræus, the confederate fleet, under the command of the Spartan Pausanias, was engaged in setting free those Greek cities which were still held enslaved by the Persians.

The elevation to which he had been lifted seems to have produced in Pausanias a sort of dizziness. His insensate ambition suggested to him the scheme of making himself tyrant of all Greece. He believed that, by securing the coöperation of Xerxes through offering to rule in Greece as his viceroy, he could consummate this amazing piece of treachery. In pursuance of his plans, he sent to Susa the Persian prisoners he

¹ A few years after this Themistocles fell into disfavor and was ostracized (471 B.C.). He finally bent his steps to Susa, the Persian capital. King Artaxerxes appointed him governor of Magnesia in Asia Minor and made provision for his wants by assigning to three cities the duty of providing for his table: one was to furnish bread, a second wine, and a third meat. Plutarch relates that one day as the exile sat down to his richly loaded board he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!" He died probably about 460 B.C.

had taken, together with a letter in which he actually offered to become the son-in-law of the Great King.

Xerxes was naturally greatly pleased with the prospect thus afforded him of yet annexing Greece as a satrapy to his empire, and sent Pausanias assurances of every assistance in men and money. The head of Pausanias seemed now to be completely turned. He dressed like a Persian, surrounded himself with Persian guards, and deported himself generally as though already a satrap of the Great King and tyrant of Hellas.

Matters soon reached a crisis. Some Ionian sailors, indignant beyond self-restraint at the conduct of Pausanias, while cruising one day, purposely ran their ship into his galley; and when he, beside himself with rage, upbraided them for their conduct, they told him to betake himself home, adding that nothing but the memory of Plataea restrained them from visiting upon him then and there the punishment he so richly deserved.

Shortly after this a summons came to Pausanias from the Ephors at Sparta, whither information of the state of affairs in the fleet had been carried, commanding him to return home and give an explanation of his behavior.²

Having repudiated the authority of Pausanias, the Ionian fleet straightway turned to the Athenian general Aristides as leader and commander. Thus was transferred from Sparta to Athens that command of the allied fleet of the Greek cities which the Athenians had patriotically yielded to the Spartans when the invasion by Xerxes was impending (sec. 208), but to which even at that time they had a just claim, as having the largest navy in Hellas.

219. The Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.). — Under the inspiration of Aristides, the Ionian states, in order that they might be able to carry on more effectively the work to which they had set their hands of liberating the Greek cities yet in the power of the Persians, now formed a league known as the

² Pausanias obeyed the summons of the Ephors. He escaped punishment at this time, but a little later he was caught in treasonable correspondence with the Persians. To avoid arrest he fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Athena at Sparta. The Ephors, not daring to seize him there, caused the roof of the temple to be removed, and walling up the entrance, left the traitor to die of starvation (about 470 B.C.).

Confederacy of Delos, in which Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies were to have no part. All the Asian cities of Ionia and Æolis, almost all the island towns of the Ægean, the cities of Chalcidice, together with those just set free along the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, became members of the alliance. The league was a free association of independent and equal states. Athens was indeed to be the head of the confederacy, but she was not on that account to possess or to exercise any irresponsible authority over the other members of the union. Aristides was chosen as the first president. Matters of common concern were to be in the hands of a congress convened yearly in the sacred island of Delos and composed of delegates from all the cities.

At Delos, also, in the temple of Apollo was to be kept the common treasure chest, to which each state was to make contribution according to its ability. What proportion of the ships and money should be contributed by the several states for carrying out the purposes of the union was left at first entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all possessed in his fairness and incorruptible integrity; and so long as he retained control of the matter, none of the allies ever had cause for complaint.

The formation of this Delian league constitutes a prominent landmark in Grecian history. It meant not simply the transfer from Sparta to Athens of leadership in the maritime affairs of Hellas. It meant that all the promises of Panhellenic union in the great alliance formed at Corinth in 481 B.C. had come to naught. It meant, since the Peloponnesian Confederacy still continued to exist, that henceforth Hellas was to be a house divided against itself.

220. The Athenians convert the Delian League into an Empire.—The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their allies, or confederates, to the condition of tributaries and subjects.

Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different

members of the confederation consisted of ships for the larger states and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then, building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league — Lesbos, Chios, and Samos — still retained their independence. They alone of all the former allies did not pay tribute.

Even before the date last named (probably about 457 B.C.) the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and, diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it, not in the prosecution of war against the barbarians, but in the carrying on of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue. About this time also the congress probably ceased to exist.

Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities was converted into what was practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master. Thus did Athens become a "tyrant city." From being the liberator of the Greek cities she had become their enslaver.

What made this servitude of the former allies of Athens all the more galling was the fact that they themselves had been compelled to forge the very chains which fettered them; for it was

their money that had built and was maintaining the fleet by which they were kept in subjection and forced to do whatever might be the will of the Athenians.³

221. The Leadership of Cimon. — One of the ablest and most distinguished of the generals who commanded the forces of the Athenians during this same period when they were enslaving their confederates was Cimon, the son of Miltiades. After the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, he became one of the most successful of the Grecian admirals to whom was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from them the islands of the Ægean and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast.⁴

But Cimon was something more than a mere soldier and admiral. He was a statesman whose policies, though possibly sometimes unwise, were at least patriotic and indicative of an outlook that embraced not Athens alone but all Hellas. His disposition was kind and generous, and he dispensed his riches with a free hand in benefactions to the poor, in the erection of magnificent public monuments at Athens, and in the beautifying of the parks and walks in and about the city.

222. Revolt of the Spartan Helots; Cimon's Loss of Favor. — The popularity of Cimon at last declined, and he suffered ostracism, as had Aristides and Themistocles before him.

Cimon's loss of public favor came about in this manner. In the year 464 B.C. Sparta was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake. Twenty thousand of the inhabitants are said to have perished. No sooner had the news of the situation at Sparta spread among the Helots, than they seized arms and hastened thither with the purpose of making an end once for all of their oppressors. But the Spartans who had survived the catastrophe were on the alert, and the attack was repulsed. The Messenians, however, were now in arms. Intrenching themselves in the old

³ Sentiment in most of the subject cities, it should be noted, was divided. While the aristocratic class was generally the bitter enemy of Athens, the lower classes were as a rule friends of the Athenian democracy. But the frequent revolts from Athens show how strong in most cases was the sentiment of home rule.

⁴ Of his many victories over the Persians the most important was that at the mouth of the Eurymedon, in Pamphylia, in 466 B.C.

stronghold of Mount Ithome, they maintained against their former masters a long and bitter struggle known as the Third Messenian War (464-456 B.C.).

The Spartans, finding themselves unable to reduce their revolted serfs to submission, were forced to ask aid of the other Grecian states. Pericles, one of the leading statesmen in Athens at this time, implored his countrymen not to lend themselves to the building up of the power of their rival. But the aristocratic Cimon, who had always entertained the most friendly feelings for the Spartans, exhorted the Athenians to put aside all sentiments of enmity and jealousy, and to extend succor to their kinsmen in this desperate posture of their affairs. "Let not Greece," said he, "be lamed, and thus Athens herself be deprived of her yoke fellow." The great services Cimon had rendered the state entitled him to be heard. The assembly voted as he advised, and so the Athenians fought for some time side by side with the Lacedæmonians.

But the Spartans were distrustful of the sincerity of their allies, and this feeling gradually grew into positive fear lest the Athenians should take advantage of their position in the country and pass over to the side of the enemy. Acting under this apprehension, which was probably entirely groundless, they, with characteristic Spartan bluntness, dismissed the Athenian forces.⁵

The discourtesy of this action aroused the most bitter resentment at Athens. The party of Pericles, who had opposed the policy of lending aid to their rivals as unwise and weakly sentimental, took advantage of the angry feelings of the people to secure the ostracism of Cimon as the leader of the aristocratic party and the friend of Sparta⁶ (461 B.C.). At the same time Pericles and his friend and supporter Ephialtes, as the leaders of the liberal party, effected some important changes in the Athenian constitution⁷ which made it almost purely democratic in character.

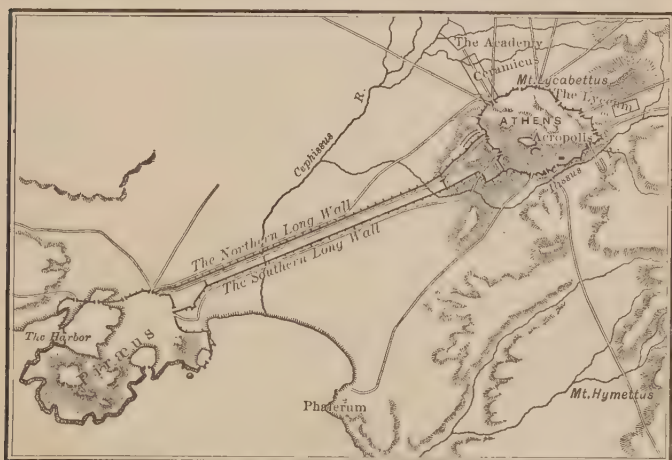
⁵ After a prolonged struggle the Spartans succeeded in subduing the rebellion and in reëstablishing throughout Messenia the old order of things.

⁶ Cimon was recalled from exile in 454 B.C. and again led the fleets of Athens against the Persians. He died in the year 449 B.C.

⁷ These changes concerned the ancient council of the Areopagus. The great and patriotic services rendered by this council during the Persian Wars had given it a

223. **Pericles comes to the Head of Affairs** (about 460 B.C.); **his Policy.** — Pericles was now the most prominent leader in Athens,⁸ and from this time on until his death shortly after the opening of the Peloponnesian War, he was the very soul of the Athenian democracy.

His policy was just the opposite of that of Cimon, which was the maintenance in Greece of a dual hegemony, Sparta being allowed leadership on land and Athens leadership on the sea.



ATHENS AND HER LONG WALLS⁹

place of great influence and power during the years immediately following the battles of Salamis and Plataea. But public sentiment had now changed. The council was regarded by the democratic party with some such feelings of distrust and hatred as are entertained by the English Liberals towards the House of Lords. It seemed to them, as indeed it was, the stronghold of aristocratic prejudice and conservatism. The court was now stripped of important powers, which were conferred upon the various courts and boards of a popular character. This reform amounted to a revolution. It swept away the last bulwark in the constitution against the inroads of the democratic spirit. It removed the last check upon the will of the people. Henceforth the Athenians were to be their own censors and judges as well as their own legislators.

⁸ The very year that Cimon was ostracized, Ephialtes, the able liberal statesman who had led the attack upon the Areopagus, had been struck down by the hand of an assassin.

⁹ It is the opinion of Ernest Arthur Gardner, in opposition to the view which has been generally held, that there were only two walls, the one shown on the map as the Southern being the so-called Phaleric Wall. See his *Ancient Athens*, pp. 56-59.

Pericles believed that such a double leadership was impracticable, and the whole aim of his policy was to make the authority of Athens supreme not only on the sea but also on the land.

224. Pericles fosters the Naval Power of Athens ; the Construction of the Long Walls ; the Conquest of Ægina (456 B.C.). — As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to push to completion what were known as the Long Walls¹⁰ (about 457-455 B.C.), which united Athens to the port of Piræus. By means of these great ramparts Athens and her principal port, with the intervening land, were converted into a vast fortified district, capable in time of war of holding the entire population of Attica. With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

One of the most important conquests, in its bearing upon their maritime supremacy, made by the Athenians during Pericles' leadership, was the subjugation of the island of Ægina, which lies in front of the harbor of Piræus. This small but powerful state, which for a long time had been a formidable rival of Athens by sea, was now compelled to surrender its war galleys and to pay tribute (456 B.C.).

225. Pericles tries in vain to create a Land Empire ; the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). — At the same time that Pericles was making Athens' supremacy by sea more secure, he was endeavoring to build up for her a land empire in Central Greece. As Athenian influence in this quarter increased, Sparta became more and more jealous, and strove to counteract it by enhancing the power of Thebes, and by lending support to the aristocratic party in the various cities of Bœotia.

The contest between the two rivals was long and bitter. At first the Athenians were worsted, but at length the tide turned in their favor. All the cities of Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris fell

¹⁰ It is probable that Cimon began the work on these defenses. The ramparts were each between four and five miles in length, and sixty feet high. They were defended by numerous towers, which, when Athens became crowded, were used as shops and private dwellings.



PLATE VII. — THE PIRÆUS AND THE LONG WALLS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

under the power of Athens, and it seemed as though Pericles' dream of a land empire as well as of a naval dominion was about to be realized.

But fortune once more inclined to the side of the aristocratic party. The Athenian army experienced an overwhelming defeat (at Coronea, 447 B.C.), and Pericles was fain to seek peace with Sparta. The negotiations ended in the well-known Peace of Pericles, or the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). By its terms each of the rival cities was left at the head of the confederation it had formed, but neither was to interfere with the subjects or allies of the other, while those cities of Hellas which were not yet members of either league were to be left free to join either according to choice.

The real meaning of the truce was that Athens gave up her ambition to establish a land empire and was henceforth to be content with supremacy on the seas.

Selections from the Sources.—PLUTARCH, *Life of Aristides* and *Life of Cimon*. THUCYDIDES, i. 90-93; tells how Themistocles outwitted Sparta.

References (Modern).—CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 353-459. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 330-437. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 243-415. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. vii-xiv. ALLCROFT, *The Making of Athens*, chaps. viii and x. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chaps. xxii-xxiv. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. viii. COX, *The Athenian Empire* (earlier chapters); and *Lives of Athenian Statesmen*, "Aristeides," "Themistokles," "Pausanias," "Kimon." GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, sec. 5.

Topics for Special Study.—1. The Confederacy of Delos. 2. Cimon. 3. Aristides. 4. Athens' relations to the cities of her empire. 5. The ancient temple as a sanctuary or place of refuge.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AGE OF PERICLES

(445-431 B.C.)

226. General Character of the Period. — The fourteen years immediately following the Thirty Years' Truce are usually designated as the Years of Peace. During all this period Athens was involved in only one short war of note. And not only was there peace throughout the empire of Athens, but also throughout the Mediterranean world. There was peace between the Eastern Greeks and the Persians, as well as between the Western Greeks

and the Carthaginians. The rising city of Rome, too, was at peace with her neighbors. Thus there was peace throughout the world, as happened again four centuries later in the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus (sec. 507). And as that later period of peace marked the Golden Age of Rome, so did this earlier era mark the Golden Age of Athens.¹

The epoch, as we here limit it, embraced less than half the lifetime of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overrated. During this short period Athens gave birth to more

great men — poets, artists, statesmen, and philosophers — than all the world besides has produced in any period of equal length.

Among all the great men of this age Pericles stood preëminent. Such was the impression he left upon the period in which he lived that it is called after him the Periclean Age.² Yet



FIG. 85. — PERICLES

¹ Lloyd, *The Age of Pericles*, vol. ii, p. 111.

² This designation is a very elastic one: by it is often meant the whole period marked by the influence of Pericles, say from the assassination of Ephialtes in

Pericles' authority was simply that which talent and character justly confer. He ruled, as Plutarch says, by the art of persuasion. His throne was the bema.³

The people were at this period the source and fountain of all power. The reforms and revolutions of a century and more had finally removed all restraints upon their will, and that will was now supreme.

Every matter which concerned Athens and her empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before in the history of the world had any people enjoyed such unrestricted political liberty as did the citizens of Athens



FIG. 86. — THE BEMA, OR ORATOR'S STAND, ON THE PNYX HILL, ATHENS (see sec. 182, n. 3).

(From a photograph)

at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well fitted to take part in the administration of government. As a rule, every citizen was

461 B.C. to the death of Pericles in 429 B.C.; and again it is employed to designate the entire period of Athenian ascendancy from the battle of Plataea to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

³ It is natural, of course, that one who occupies such a position as that held by Pericles should awaken many jealousies and stir numerous resentments. And Pericles did have many enemies, and was frequently subjected to annoyance and persecution. Usually the attacks upon him were made indirectly through his friends. Thus charges of corruption and sacrilege were brought against his friend Phidias (sec. 320, n. 11), which without doubt were primarily intended to annoy Pericles. Also Aspasia, a brilliant Milesian woman who was associated with Pericles in a way condemned by modern morality, was charged among other things with impiety. Pericles was able to secure her acquittal only by making before the court a most abject plea in her defense. Again, Anaxagoras, a philosopher to the loftiness of whose teachings Plutarch attributes in large measure the elevation and liberality of the views of Pericles, who was his friend and disciple, was prosecuted on the charge of irreligion (sec. 351).

qualified to hold public office. At all events the Athenians acted upon this assumption, as is shown by their extremely democratic practice of filling almost all the public offices by the use of the lot. Only a very few positions, and these in the army and navy, which called for special qualifications, were filled by ballot or open voting.

227. The Limitation of Citizenship to Persons of Pure Attic Descent. — A few years before the time where we have now arrived, Pericles had secured the enactment of a law which had a very important bearing upon the history of the period with which we are dealing. This was a law limiting Athenian citizenship to persons born of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother.⁴

The passing of this law marks a most significant change in the policy of the Athenian state. Up to this time Athens had been the most liberal of all the cities of Greece in the admission of aliens or semi-aliens to the franchise of the city, and it was this liberal policy that had contributed largely to make Athens strong and to give her the imperial position she held among the states of Hellas. Aside from the formation of a federal union like the later Achaean League (sec. 304), it was the sole policy through which Athens could hope to unite into a real nation the various cities she had brought under her rule. It was the policy which Rome was just now adopting, and by the steady adhesion to which she was to make of the multitude of Italian cities and tribes a great nation, and gain the dominion of the world.⁵

Probably it was impossible for Athens to play in history the part of Rome. The feeling of the Greek for his own city was too strong. But we cannot help asking ourselves when we see Athens thus abandoning the liberal principle which had carried her so far, what might have been her future had she only steadily adhered to her earlier policy and kept her gates, as Rome did

⁴ The ground for this piece of legislation probably was that since the rights and privileges of Athenian citizenship were becoming valuable those possessing these rights were anxious to keep them as exclusively as possible to themselves.

⁵ Compare secs. 391, 395, 415, 470, 471, 512, and 527.

hers, wide open to strangers, and thereby kept full and strong the ranks of her citizens.

We are told that as an immediate result of the law in question almost five thousand persons were disfranchised.

228. Pericles takes the Citizens into the Pay of the State. —

It was a fixed idea of Pericles that in a democracy there should be not only an equal distribution of political rights among all classes, but also an equalization of the means and opportunities of exercising these rights, together with an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments. By such an equalization of the privileges and pleasures of political and social life, he would destroy the undue influence of the rich over the poor, and banish class envy and discord.

In promoting his views Pericles carried to great length the system of payment for the most common public services: Thus he introduced, or at least organized, the system of payment for military services; hitherto the Athenian, save probably as respects service in the fleet, had served his country in time of war without compensation. He also secured the payment of the citizen for serving as a juryman,—a very important innovation. Through his influence also, or that of his party, salaries were, during this period, attached to the various civil offices, all of which were originally unpaid positions. This reform enabled the poorer citizens to offer themselves as candidates for the different magistracies, which under the earlier system, notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution, had been practically open only to men of means and leisure.

It was the same motives that prompted the above innovations which led Pericles to introduce or to extend the practice of supplying all the citizens with free tickets to the theater and other places of amusement, and of banqueting the people on festival days at the public expense. Respecting the effect of these particular measures upon the character of the Athenian democracy, we shall say a word in a following paragraph.

The outcome of the general policy of Pericles was that before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War almost every citizen of

Athens was in the pay of the state. Aristotle says that more than twenty thousand were receiving payment for one kind of service or another.⁶

229. **The Dicasteries.** — Among the services just enumerated for which the citizen received a payment from the state was that rendered by the Athenian jurymen in the great popular courts. These tribunals formed such a characteristic feature of the Athens of Pericles that we must pause here long enough to cast a glance upon them.

Each year there were chosen by lot from those Athenian citizens of thirty years of age and upwards who had volunteered for jury service six thousand persons.⁷ One thousand of this number was held in reserve; the remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections of five hundred each. These divisions were called *dicasteries*, and the members *dicasts* or jurymen. Although the full number of jurors in a dicastery was five hundred, still the usual number sitting on any given case was between two hundred and four hundred. Sometimes, however, when an important case was to be heard, the jury would number two thousand or even more.

There was an immense amount of law business brought before these courts; for they tried not only all cases arising between the citizens of Athens, but attended also to a large part of the law business of the numerous cities of Athens' great empire. All cases arising between subject cities, all cases in which an Athenian citizen was interested, and finally, indeed, all important cases arising in the dependent states, were brought to Athens and heard in these courts. It is easy to see that the volume of business transacted in them must have been immense.

The pay of the juror was at first one obol per day; but later this was increased to three obols, a sum equal to about eight

⁶ The various classes and magistrates supported by the public funds are given as follows: 6000 dicasts, 1600 bowmen, 1200 horsemen, 500 senators, 500 harbor guards, 50 city guards, 700 domestic magistrates, 700 foreign magistrates, 2500 hoplites, 4000 sailors, the crews of 20 watch ships, 2000 sailors forming crews of ships employed in collecting tribute, together with jailers and other officers (*Athenian Constitution*, ch. 24).

⁷ Collectively known as the *Heliaæ*.

cents in our money. This, it seems, was sufficient to maintain an Athenian citizen of the poorer class.

When a case was to be tried, it was assigned by lot to one of the dicasteries, this method of allotment being observed in order to guard against bribery.

The average Athenian enjoyed sitting on a jury. As Lloyd says, "the occupation fell in wonderfully with his humor." The influence of the courts upon the Athenian character was far from wholesome. They fostered certain traits of the Athenians which needed the bridle rather than the goad.

The decision of the jurors was final. There was no body or council in the state to review their decision. The judgment of a dicastery was never reversed or annulled. The decisions of the dicasts were not always

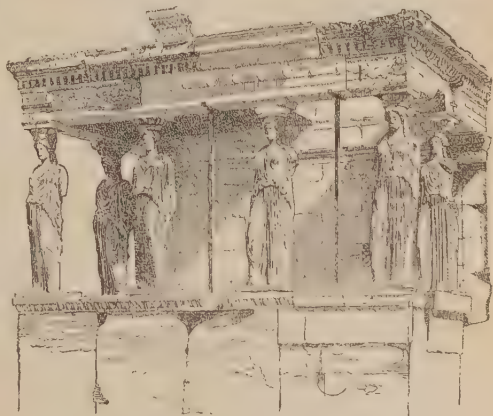


FIG. 87.—THE CARYATID PORCH OF THE ERECHTHEUM.⁸ (From a photograph)

consonant with justice; but probably the verdicts were, on the whole, as just and reasonable as are those of the modern jury.

230. Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings. — Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, it was the idea of Pericles that the Athenians should so adorn their city that it should be a fitting symbol of the power and glory of their empire. Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those masterpieces of architecture that

⁸ The Erechtheum was built, some time after the death of Pericles, on the site of an older temple which perished with the other buildings on the Acropolis at the time of the Persian invasion.

in their ruins still excite the admiration of the world. Among the various edifices constructed at this time was the Odeon or "Music Hall," erected just beneath the Acropolis. This building was intended for the musical contests that were held in connection with the Panathenaic festivals (sec. 186).

But the most noteworthy of the Periclean structures were grouped upon the Acropolis. Here, as the gateway to the sacred inclosure of the citadel, were erected the magnificent Propylæa, which have served as a model for similar structures since the time of Pericles. Here also was raised the beautiful Parthenon, sacred to the virgin goddess Athena. The architects of this build-



FIG. 88. — THE SO-CALLED THESEUM AT ATHENS
(From a photograph)

This is one of the best preserved of Greek temples

ing were Ictinus and Callicrates; the celebrated sculptures of the frieze were designed by Phidias. Within was the celebrated ivory and gold statue of the goddess. Near the temple stood the colossal bronze statue of Athena, — made,

it is said, from the spoils of Marathon, — whose glittering spear point was a beacon to the mariner sailing in from Sunium.⁹

The Athenians obtained a considerable portion of the money needed for the prosecution of their great architectural and art undertakings from the treasury of the Delian Confederacy. The allies naturally declaimed bitterly against this proceeding, complaining that Athens with their money was "adorning herself as a vain woman decks her body with gay ornaments." But Pericles' answer to these charges was that the money was contributed

⁹ For additional details concerning the art matters here dealt with, see secs. 313 and 320.



PLATE VIII. — THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by *G. Rehlender*)

to the end that the cities of the league should be protected against the Persians, and that so long as the Athenians kept the enemy at a distance they had a right to use the money as they pleased.

231. Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. — Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches (sec. 235), made soon after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, in which he recounts the resources of the Athenian Empire, Pericles says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea."

And this was no empty boast. The earlier empires of the Orient that once had held wide dominion had long since fallen, and the later Medo-Persian power which had arisen upon their ruins, and which at the opening of the fifth century B.C. was threatening to extend its authority over the world, had been checked in its insolent advance by Hellenic valor and discipline, so that at this time there was no power in the East that the Athenians need fear. In the West, Rome had not yet risen into prominence, and Carthage was barely able to contend upon equal terms with the Greek cities of Sicily.

Beyond question the Hellenes were at this moment the leading race in the world; and Athens, notwithstanding the limitations placed upon her ambition by the terms of the Thirty Years' Truce (sec. 225), was the real head of Hellas. The Ægean had become an Athenian lake. Its islands and coast lands, together with the Hellespontine region, formed practically an Athenian Empire. The revenue ships of Athens collected tribute from two hundred Greek cities. It seemed almost as though the union of the cities of Hellas was to be effected on an imperial basis through the energy and achievements of the Athenians.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the remarkable combination of material and intellectual resources which it exhibited. Never before had there been such a union of the material and the intellectual elements of civilization at the

seat of empire.¹⁰ Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius. Art was represented by the inimitable creations of Phidias and Polygnotus, while the drama was illustrated by the incomparable tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.¹¹

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian Empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition to the deepest instinct of the Greek race, — to that sentiment of local patriotism which invested each individual city with political sovereignty (sec. 137). Athens had disregarded this feeling. Pericles himself acknowledged that in the hands of the Athenians sovereignty had run into a sort of tyranny. The so-called confederates were the subjects of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.¹² Naturally the subject cities of her empire — that is, the patriotic or home rule party in these dependent states — regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt and throw off the yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian Empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Had Athens, instead of enslaving her confederates of the Delian League, only been able to find some way of retaining them as allies in an equal union, — a great and perhaps impossible task under the then existing conditions of the Hellenic world, — as

¹⁰ "The average ability of the Athenian race [was], on the lowest possible estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own; that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro. This estimate, which may seem prodigious to some, is confirmed by the quick intelligence and high culture of the Athenian commonalty, before whom literary works were recited, and works of art exhibited of a far more severe character than could possibly be appreciated by the average of our race, the calibre of whose intellect is easily gauged by a glance at the contents of a railway bookstall." — GALTON, *Hereditary Genius*, p. 342 (2d Am. ed., 1887); quoted by Kidd, *Social Evolution*, ch. ix.

¹¹ For short notices of the lives and works of these artists and poets, see secs. 320, 325, and 337.

¹² The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice; all cases of importance, as we have seen (sec. 229), were carried to Athens, and there decided in the Attic tribunals.

head of the federated Greek race she might have secured for Hellas the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the history of Rome might have ended with the first century of the republic.

Furthermore, there were elements of weakness within the Athenian democracy itself. Greatly as Pericles had exalted Athens, and vastly as he had extended her reputation, still by some of his measures he had sown the seeds of future evils. In his system of wholesale public doles and gratuities he had introduced or encouraged practices that had the same demoralizing effects upon the Athenians that the free distribution of corn at Rome at a later time had upon the Roman populace (sec. 584). These pernicious practices cast discredit upon labor, destroyed frugality, and fostered idleness, thus sapping the virtues and strength of the Athenian democracy.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian Empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pericles*. THUCYDIDES, ii. 65; on the character of Pericles.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 460-641. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 438-533. ABBOTT, vol. iii, chaps. i and ii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. xv-xx. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. ix. COX, *The Athenian Empire*; and *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Ephialtes" and "Perikles." LLOYD, *The Age of Pericles*, vol. ii, chaps. xli and xlii. BUTLER, *The Story of Athens*, chap. vii. ABBOTT, *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens*, chaps. x-xviii. GRANT, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, chaps. vii, viii, and xii. MAHAFFY, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. v.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The buildings of Athens. 2. The drama in the Periclean Age. 3. "A Day in Athens." 4. The popular courts. 5. The imperialism of Pericles.



CHAPTER XXII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

(431-404 B.C.)

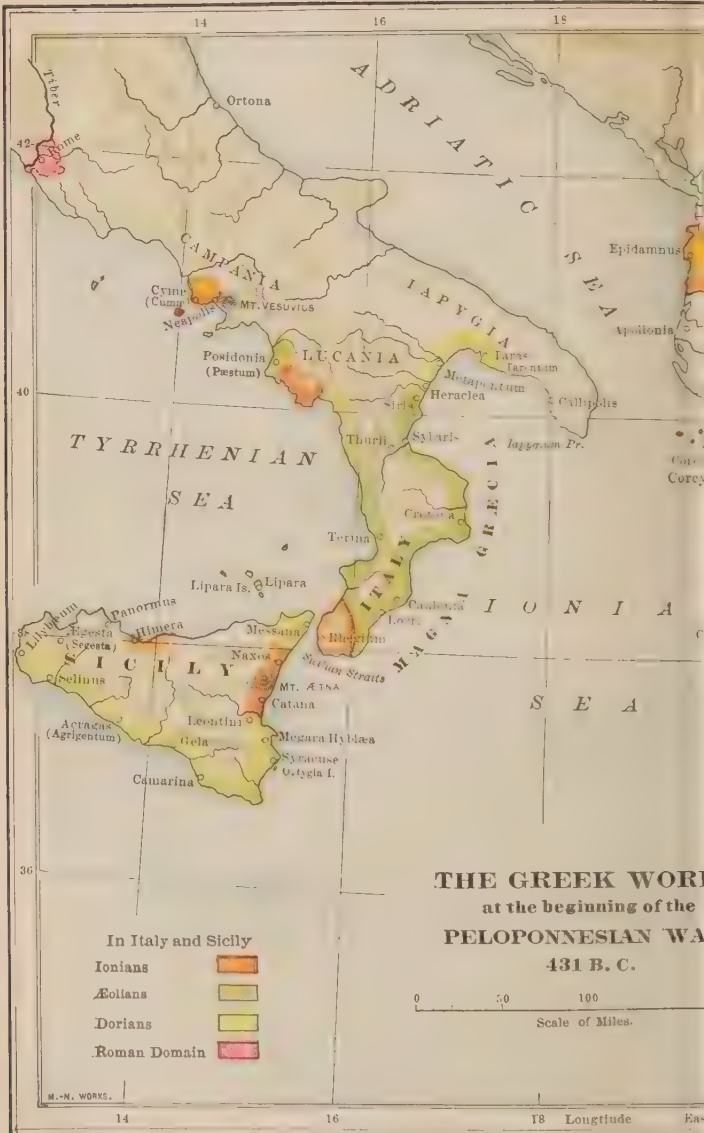
I. THE WAR TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS (431-421 B.C.)

232. The Immediate Causes of the War. — Before the end of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Ionian Athens and Dorian Sparta and her allies broke out in the long and calamitous struggle known as the Peloponnesian War. Pericles had foreseen the coming storm: "I descry war," he said, "lowering from the Peloponnesus."

One immediate cause of the war was the interference of Athens, on the side of the Corcyræans, in a quarrel between them and their mother city Corinth. The real root of this trouble between Corinth and Corcyra was mercantile rivalry. Both were enterprising commercial cities, and both wished to control the trade of the islands and the coast towns of Western Greece. The motive of the Athenians for interesting themselves in this quarrel between mother and daughter was to prevent any accession to the naval power of Corinth by her possible acquisition of the fleet of the Corcyræans, and to make sure of Corcyra as an important station and watch post on the route to Italy.

The second immediate cause of the war was the blockade by the Athenians of Potidæa, in Chalcidice. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian League, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth, as the ever-jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by other states that had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta,





as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deputies of both sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was indorsed by the Peloponnesian confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphian oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

233. The Beginning: Attack upon Platæa by the Thebans. — The first act in the long and terrible drama was enacted at night, within the walls of Platæa. This city, though in Bœotia, was under the protection of Athens, and would have nothing to do with the Bœotian League. Anxious to get possession of this place before the actual outbreak of the war which they saw to be inevitable, the Thebans planned its surprise and capture. Three hundred Thebans gained access to the unguarded city in the dead of night, and, marching to the public square, summoned the Platæans to exchange the Athenian for a Bœotian alliance.

The Platæans were upon the point of acceding to all the demands made upon them, when, discovering the small number of the enemy, they attacked and overpowered them in the darkness, and took one hundred and eighty of them prisoners. These captives they afterwards put to death, in violation, as the Thebans maintained, of a sacred promise that their lives should be spared.

This wretched affair at Platæa precipitated the war (431 B.C.). The preparations on either side were now pushed forward with increased zeal and energy. There was great enthusiasm, Thucydides tells us, on both sides of the Isthmus, particularly among the young men, who, having never seen war, were eager for its new experiences and excitements.

234. The Peloponnesians invade and ravage Attica (431 B.C.). — As soon as the news of the affair at Platæa had reached Sparta, all her allies were at once summoned to send their contingents in haste to the Isthmus, prepared for a campaign in Attica. A great army was soon collected there under the command of the Spartan king Archidamus.

Meanwhile Pericles, carrying out the general plan of campaign that had been resolved upon by the Athenians under his advice, had gathered all the inhabitants of the villages, towns, and scattered farmhouses of Attica within the walls of the capital. The people brought with them their household goods, even "the woodwork of their homes." Their cattle they transported to Eubœa and other places of safety. Everything that could not be carried away was abandoned to the enemy.

Into the plain thus deserted, as it had been a generation before at the time of the Persian invasion, the Peloponnesians marched, just at the season when the grain was ripening, and as they advanced towards Athens ravaged the country far and near. Even the barbarians had not wasted it more ruthlessly. From the walls of the city the Athenians could see the flames of their burning houses, which recalled to the old men the sight they had witnessed from the island of Salamis just forty-nine years before. This destruction of their property before their very eyes naturally frenzied the people, and they began to upbraid Pericles, and demanded that he should give up his cowardly policy of crouching behind walls, and lead the army out to meet the enemy in open battle.

Perceiving that the people were beside themselves with anger, Pericles turned a deaf ear to all their abuse, and refused to comply with their demands, but sent out bodies of cavalry to protect the property near the city walls.

The failure of provisions finally compelled the Peloponnesians to withdraw from the country. They retreated through Bœotia, and from the Isthmus the contingents of the different cities scattered to their homes.

235. Funeral Oration of Pericles. — It was the custom of the Athenians to bury with public and imposing ceremonies the bodies of those who fell in battle. In the funeral procession the bones of the dead of each tribe were borne in a single chest on a litter, while an empty litter covered with a pall was carried for those whose bodies had not been recovered. The remains were laid in the public cemetery, outside the city gates. The only

time that the Athenians departed from this custom was after the battle of Marathon, when the dead were buried on the field where they had fallen, as a special tribute to their valor and self-devotion (sec. 202). After the burial of the remains, some person chosen by his fellow-citizens on account of his special fitness for the service delivered an oration over the dead, extolling their deeds and exhorting the living to an imitation of their virtues.

It was during the winter following the campaign we have described that the Athenians celebrated the funeral ceremonies of those who had fallen thus far in the war. Pericles was chosen to give the oration on this occasion. This funeral speech, as reported by Thucydides,¹ is one of the most valuable memorials preserved to us from antiquity. All the circumstances under which the oration was pronounced lent to it a peculiar and pathetic interest.

The speaker took advantage of the occasion to describe the institutions to which Athens owed her greatness, and to picture the glories of the imperial city for which the heroes they lamented had died. He first spoke of the fathers from whom they had inherited their institutions of freedom, and their great empire, and then passed on to speak of the character and spirit of those institutions through which Athens had risen to power and greatness. The Athenian government, he said, was a democracy; for all the citizens, rich and poor alike, participated in its administration. There was freedom of intercourse and of action among the citizens, each doing as he liked; and yet there was a spirit of reverence and respect for law. Numerous festivals and games furnished amusement and relaxation from toil for all citizens. Life in the great city was more enjoyable than elsewhere, being enriched by fruits and goods from all the world.

¹ Respecting the speeches which Thucydides introduces so frequently in his narrative, he himself says: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said" (Jowett's Thucydides, i. 15).

The speaker praised, too, Athens' military system, in which the citizen was not sacrificed to the soldier, as at Sparta; and yet Athens was alone a match for Sparta and all her allies. He extolled the intellectual, moral, and social virtues of the Athenians, which were fostered by their free institutions, and declared their city to be "the school of Hellas" and the model for all other cities.

Continuing, the speaker declared that Athens alone of all existing cities was greater than the report of her in the world; and that she would never need a Homer to perpetuate her memory, because she herself had set up everywhere eternal monuments of her greatness. "Such is the city," he exclaimed impressively, "for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf."

Then followed words of tribute to the valor and self-devotion of the dead, whose sepulchrs and inscriptions were not the graves and the memorial stones of the cemetery — "for the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men," and the memorials of them are "graven not on stone but in the hearts of mankind." Finally, with words of comfort for the relatives of the dead, the orator dismissed the assembly to their homes.²

"Thus did Pericles represent to the Athenian citizens the nature of their state, and picture to them what Athens should be. Their better selves he held before them, in order to strengthen them and to lift them above themselves, and to inspire in them self-devotion and constancy and bravery. With new courage

² Thucydides, ii. 35-46, for the whole oration.

³ A bas-relief recently excavated on the Acropolis of Athens. Dr. Charles Waldstein thinks that this sculpture may "have headed an inscription containing the names of those who had fallen in battle, which record was placed in some public spot in Athens or on the Acropolis. Our Athene-Nike would then be standing in the attitude of mourning, with reversed spear, gazing down upon the tombstone which surmounts the grave of her brave sons." As to the possible connection of this relief with the funeral oration of Pericles, Dr. Waldstein says: "Though I do not mean to say that the inscription which it surmounted referred immediately to those who had fallen in the campaign of 431 B.C., I still feel that the most perfect counterpart in literature is the famous funeral oration of Pericles as recorded by Thucydides."



PLATE IX. — THE MOURNING ATHENA.³ (From a photograph)

turned them from the graves of the fallen to their homes, and went forward to meet whatever destiny the gods might have ordained" (Curtius).

That funeral day was, indeed, one of the great days in ancient Athens.

236. The Plague at Athens (430 B.C.); the Death of Pericles (429 B.C.).—Very soon had the Athenians need to exercise all those virtues which the orator had admonished them to cherish; for upon the return of the next campaigning season the Peloponnesians, having mustered again two thirds of all their fighting forces, broke once more into Attica and ravaged the land anew, giving to the flames such villages and farmhouses as had escaped destruction the previous year. The Athenians, adhering to their policy of avoiding a battle in the open field, remained behind their walls, enduring as best they might the sight of the smoke of their burning homes drifting over the plain.

The walls of Athens were unassailable by the hostile army; but unfortunately they were no defense against a more terrible foe. A pestilence broke out in the crowded city and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. The mortality was frightful. One fourth of the population of the city was swept away.

In the third year of the war the plague reappeared at Athens. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens during all these dark days, fell a victim to the disease. The plague had previously robbed him of his sister and his two sons. The death of his younger son had bowed him in grief, and as he laid the usual funeral wreath upon the head of the dead boy, for the first time in his life, it is said, he gave way to his feelings in a passionate outburst of tears. In dying, the great statesman is reported to have said that he regarded his best title to honored remembrance to be that "he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning."

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell to a great degree into the hands of demagogues. The mob element got control of the Ecclesia, so that hereafter we shall find many of its measures marked neither by virtue nor by wisdom.

237. The Cruel Character of the War: the Athenians wreak Vengeance upon the Mytileneans, and the Spartans upon the Platæans. — On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. As a rule, all the men captured by either side were killed.

In the year 428 B.C. the city of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, revolted from the Athenians. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mytileneans was in the hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon, a rash and violent leader of the democratic party, proposed that all the men of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed, and a galley dispatched bearing the sentence for execution to the Athenian general at Mytilene.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called, the barbarous vote was repealed, and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The trireme reached the island just in time to prevent the execution of the cruel edict.

The second resolution of the Athenians, though more discriminating than the first decree, was quite severe enough. Over one thousand of the nobles of Mytilene were killed, the walls of the city were thrown down, and the larger part of the lands of the island was given to citizens of Athens.⁴

Still more unrelenting and cruel were the Spartans. In the summer of the same year that the Athenians wreaked such vengeance upon the Mytileneans, the Spartans and their allies captured the city of Plataea, put to death all the men, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the city into pasture land.

238. The Athenians seize Pylos (425 B.C.); the Surrender of a Spartan Force; the Significance of this. — Soon after the affair

⁴ These settlers were cleruchs (sec. 162, n. 4). They did not cultivate with their own hands the lands received; these were tilled by the native Lesbians, who paid the new proprietors a fixed rent.

at Mytilene and the destruction of Plataea, an enterprising general of the Athenians, named Demosthenes, seized and fortified a point of land (Pylos) on the coast of Messenia. The Spartans made every effort to dislodge the enemy. In the course of the siege some Lacedæmonians, having landed upon an adjacent little island (Sphacteria), were so unfortunate as to be cut off from the mainland by the sudden arrival of an Athenian fleet. After having made a splendid fight, they were completely surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered. They must now either surrender or die. They decided to surrender. Among those giving themselves up were over a hundred Spartans, some of whom were members of the best families at Sparta. All the prisoners were carried to Athens.

The surrender of Spartan soldiers had hitherto been deemed an incredible thing. "Nothing which happened during the war," declares Thucydides, "caused greater amazement in Hellas ; for it was universally imagined that the Lacedæmonians would never give up their arms, either under the pressure of famine or in any other extremity, but would fight to the last and die sword in hand."

The real significance of the affair was the revelation it made of the relaxing at Sparta of that tense military discipline and spirit which had given the Spartans such a place and reputation in the Hellenic world. It was the beginning of the end. In passing from Thermopylae to Pylos we cross a great divide in Spartan history.

The prisoners were held at Athens as hostages for the security of Attica in the future, the Spartans being informed that if they made another invasion of the country all the captives would be put to death. Pylos was garrisoned with Athenian and Messenian troops, and as a harboring place for runaway Helots became a thorn in Sparta's side.



239. The Spartan Brasidas suggests a **New Plan of Campaign against Athens**. — Seven years of the war had now passed since the first blow was struck, and so far from Sparta's promise to emancipate the cities enslaved by Athens having been fulfilled, Laconia itself was being held in close siege, with more than a hundred Spartans in captivity at Athens.

From this humiliating condition Sparta was rescued by the ability and energy of her general Brasidas. Brasidas saw clearly that Athens could be reached only through her allies and colonies. He proposed to the Spartans that they should stir to revolt some group of the tributary cities of Athens, and then, working from this center of defection, spread the revolt as widely as possible.

For the initiation of his policy, Brasidas suggested the Thracian shore, one of the most important of the possessions of Athens: for from the prosperous tribute-paying cities here Athens drew large revenues, while the forests that covered the mountains supplied in great abundance timber for the building of her ships.

The plan was adopted, and with a little army of Helots and mercenaries picked up in different parts of the Peloponnesus, Brasidas set out on his adventurous undertaking, which was not altogether unlike Hannibal's in the great fight between Carthage and Rome (Chapter XI.). He traversed Beotia, marched on through Thessaly, and soon was among the cities of Chalcidice, tributary to Athens, and offering himself to them as a liberator. Several of the towns opened their gates to him, — and that was the beginning of the end of the sea empire of Athens.

The Athenians were thoroughly alarmed. They sent to the Thracian shore several armaments, one of which was led by the notorious Cleon, to hold what they still possessed there and to win back what they had lost. In what is known as the battle of Amphipolis (422 B.C.) the Athenians and their allies suffered a severe defeat. Cleon was killed and Brasidas was mortally wounded.

240. The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — Both sides were now weary of the war. Negotiations for peace were opened, which,

after many embassies back and forth, resulted in what is known as the Peace of Nicias, because of the prominent part that Athenian general had in bringing it about. The treaty provided for a truce of fifty years. The essential condition was that each party should give up to the other all prisoners and captured places.

II. FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO THE DEFEAT OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION (421-413 B.C.)

241. Argos endeavors to regain her Lost Supremacy. — The key to the history of the first three or four years of the period between the Peace of Nicias and the setting out of the great Athenian expedition to Sicily is found in the dissatisfaction of the allies of Sparta with the provisions of that treaty, and the taking advantage of this situation by Argos to regain her ancient ascendancy in the Peloponnesus (sec. 151).

Chief among the dissatisfied Spartan confederates were the Corinthians. They were angry because certain places had not been given back to them, and accused Sparta of having sacrificed her allies to the advancement of her own interests. It was they who had stirred up the hostilities at the beginning, and it was they who now fanned the embers of the war into a raging flame again. They went to Argos and persuaded the Argives that it was an opportune time for them, by placing themselves at the head of a league of all the Hellenic cities opposed either to Sparta or to Athens, to regain their old place of leadership.

Circumstances did indeed seem to favor such an undertaking. Sparta's military reputation had received a severe blow by the affair at Pylos as well as by her entire conduct of the war. Moreover, Argos had taken no part in the wasting war of the last ten years, but had all this while been steadily developing her resources. Therefore the Argives were quite ready to embark in the ambitious project proposed by the Corinthians.

The commissioners whom the Argives sent among the cities ill-disposed to Sparta to propose to them an alliance with Argos met with a friendly reception. Mantinea, in Arcadia, and other

cities seceded from the old Peloponnesian Confederacy and joined the new league. Athens also became a member of it.

242. The Battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.) reestablishes Sparta's Leadership in the Peloponnesus.—It now began to look as though leadership in the Peloponnesus was about to be transferred from Sparta to Argos, from the city of Menelaus to the land of Agamemnon. But a single battle put an entirely different look upon affairs. The Spartans met the Argives and their allies near Mantinea and inflicted upon them a decisive defeat.

The battle of Mantinea was one of the most important which had thus far marked the war. It ruined forever the hopes of Argos of regaining her ancient leadership in the Peloponnesus. It restored to Sparta that ascendancy which recent circumstances had so nearly destroyed. It wiped out the disgrace of Sphacteria, and did much to reestablish the greatly impaired military reputation of the Spartans.

243. The Fall of Melos (416 B.C.).—The next matter of note in the period whose history we are outlining was an act of piracy—to use plain words—on the part of the Athenians.

The pleasant island of Melos, which is one of the westerly lying of the Cyclades, was the only island in the Ægean, with the exception of Thera, that was not at this time included in the Athenian Empire. The Melians were Dorians and regarded Sparta as their mother city.

The Athenians determined to take possession of this island, being moved thereto by several motives. They wished to round out their dominions and secure a "scientific frontier" for their sea possessions in that part of the Ægean.

Furthermore, the independence of the Melians made the other islanders subject to Athens discontented and restless; they could not see why they should pay tribute to Athens while the Melians went free. Hence for this reason also the Athenians resolved to reduce the island to the same condition as the others.

Added to these motives was a desire for more lands, like the Lesbian fields (sec. 237, n. 4), for distribution among Athenian citizens, and, perhaps what weighed more than all else, a thirst to

revenge upon some Dorian people the wiping out by the Spartans of the Plataean state.

So the Athenians in the summer of 416 B.C. sent an expedition to the island and commanded the Melians to at once acknowledge the suzerainty of Athens. The demand, if we may here trust Thucydides' account, was based on no other ground than Athens' imperial interests and the right of the strong to rule the weak.

The Melians, relying on the righteousness of their cause and the help of their Lacedæmonian kinsmen, refused, at the bidding of Athens, to surrender their independence, which according to their traditions they had enjoyed for seven centuries.

So the city of Melos was blockaded by sea and beset by land, and in a few months, neither the gods nor the Lacedæmonians bringing help, the whole island was in the hands of the Athenians. All the men were at once put to death, and the women and children sold into slavery. The island was then repopulated by settlers sent out from Athens.

The Athenians had now rounded out their dominions in the Ægean, and Platæa was avenged. But the Hellenic world never forgave the Athenians for the crime, which was one of the worst, because so unprovoked and so deliberately planned, committed by either party during the Peloponnesian War.

244. Alcibiades. — It becomes necessary for us here to introduce a new leader of the Athenian demos, Alcibiades, who played a most conspicuous part, not only in Athenian but also in Hellenic affairs, from this time on to near the close of the Peloponnesian



FIG. 89. — ALCIBIADES

War. Alcibiades was a young man of noble lineage and of aristocratic associations. He was versatile, brilliant, and resourceful, but unscrupulous, reckless, and profligate. He was a pupil

of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing escapades kept all Athens talking, yet seemed only to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. By the unscrupulous employment of the various arts known to the successful demagogue he was able to carry through the Ecclesia almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.

The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after Alcibiades had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.

245. Debate in the Athenian Assembly in regard to sending an Expedition to Sicily. — Very soon after their seizure of Melos the Athenians embarked in an undertaking that was freighted with the most momentous consequences not only to themselves but to the whole Hellenic world. This was an expedition to Sicily.

The immediate occasion of their sending out this expedition was an appeal for help from the city of Egesta against the Dorian city of Selinus. These places were situated on the western coast of Sicily, and were engaged in a quarrel over some border land and some other trivial matters. Syracuse was giving aid to the people of Selinus, and the Egestæans, being hard pressed, had sent envoys to Athens to plead for assistance.

The Athenians voted to send to Sicily a fleet of sixty vessels, under the command of the generals Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus. The resolution to engage in the tremendous enterprise seems to have been taken lightly by the Athenians, which was quite in keeping with their usual way of doing things; but a few days after their first vote, a second meeting of the Ecclesia having been called for the purpose of making arrangements for the equipment of the armament, Nicias, who was opposed to the undertaking, tried to persuade the people to reconsider

their original vote and give up the project. This opened the flood gates of a regular Athenian debate.

Nicias stated the reasons why he thought the proposed expedition should be abandoned. His first point was that the situation at home — with the cities of the Thracian shore in open and unpunished revolt, and with other subject cities watching for a favorable moment to rebel — was such as to render it very unwise for them to send so far away a large part of their fighting force. The Athenians should secure well their present empire before attempting to conquer a new one in the Western world.

Nicias also reminded the Athenians that there were still great unfilled gaps in their ranks made by the plague and by a war that had known scarcely any real intermission during sixteen years. The finances of the state, too, needed to be husbanded.

The speaker then proceeded to pay his attention to Alcibiades, who was the real instigator of the whole movement. He appealed to the citizens of experience and mature judgment not to allow grave public affairs to be thus toyed with by this harebrained youth, and those like him, with whom he had filled the benches of the assembly. He appealed to them, by a fearless holding up of their hands, to avert from Athens the greatest danger that had ever threatened the city.⁵

This speech of Nicias summarizes the arguments that should have weighed with the Athenians in deterring them from embarking in the hazardous undertaking that they had in mind. But from the speeches that followed, and their reception by the assembly, it was evident that the veteran general had not carried his audience with him. He was supported by a few speakers, but the most opposed his conservative policy.

The leader of the war party, as has already appeared, was Alcibiades. He made himself the mouthpiece of his party, and replied to Nicias in a violent and demagogic speech, which he closed by telling the Athenians that if they wished to rule, instead of being ruled, they must maintain that enterprising and aggressive policy that had won for them their empire. To

⁵ Thucydides, vi. 9-14, for the entire speech.

adopt Nicias' policy of inaction and indolent repose was simply to give up their imperial position. Let old and young unite, he said, in lifting Athens to a yet greater height of power and glory. With Sicily conquered, the Athenians would probably become lords of the whole Hellenic world.

Alcibiades evidently had the ear of the meeting. Nicias perceived this, and realizing that to address arguments to the understanding of the people in their present martial mood would be useless, changed his tactics, and in a second speech strove to frighten them from the undertaking by dwelling upon the size and expense of the armament they must place at the disposal of their generals.

This speech produced just the opposite effect upon the meeting from that which Nicias had hoped. The vastness of the enterprise, the magnificent proportions of the armament needed, as pictured by Nicias, seemed to captivate the imagination of the Athenians, and they were more eager than ever to embark in the undertaking. The expedition further presented itself to the ardent imagination of the youth as a sort of pleasure and sight-seeing excursion among the wonders of the land of the "Far West." Those who had no mind of their own in the matter or who were opposed to the undertaking were carried away or were silenced by the enthusiasm of the others; and so it came about that, almost without a dissenting voice, the assembly voted for the expedition.

246. The Departure of the Expedition from the Piræus (415 B.C.). — The day of the departure of the Athenian fleet from the Piræus was one of the great days in ancient Athens. It was yet early morning when the soldiers and sailors poured down from the upper city into the harbor town and began to man the ships. "The entire population of Athens," says Thucydides, who must have been an eyewitness of the stirring scene which he describes, "accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike, to witness an enterprise of which the greatness exceeded belief." Prayers having been offered and libations made to the gods, the pæan was raised and the ships put out to sea.⁶

⁶ Thucydides, vi. 32.

Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the departing ships until they were lost to sight. Could the anxious watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair: "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never to return."

247. The Recall of Alcibiades; he flees to Sparta and "plays the traitor." — Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily, before Alcibiades, who was one of the generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety.⁷ Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned.

The surest way, Alcibiades told the Spartans, in which to wreck the plans of the Athenians was to send to Sicily at once a force of heavy-armed men, and above all a good Spartan general, who alone would be worth a whole army; for the Sicilians, disunited and jealous of each other, needed to have some one among them to whom all would defer.

Alcibiades also suggested to the Spartans that they should seize and garrison Decelea, a strong and commanding position in Attica, only fourteen miles from Athens. He informed the Spartans that the Athenians were in constant fear lest their enemies should do just this thing. The occupation of this place by a Peloponnesian force would be much more annoying and disastrous to the Athenians than the occupation of Pylos by the Athenians had been to the Lacedæmonians.

The Spartans acted upon the advice given them by Alcibiades. They made preparations for fortifying Decelea, as he had advised, and sent to Sicily their ablest general Gylippus, with instructions to push the war there with the utmost vigor.

248. Sad Plight of the Athenians before Syracuse; the Fatal Eclipse; the Retreat; the End of the Tragedy (413 B.C.). — The

⁷ Just upon the eve of the departure of the expedition, the numerous statues of Hermes scattered throughout the city were grossly mutilated. Alcibiades was accused of having had a hand in the affair, and furthermore of having mimicked the sacred rites of the Eleusinian mysteries.

affairs of the Athenians in Sicily at just this time were prospering greatly. But the arrival of Gylippus changed everything at once. After some severe fighting in which the Athenians lost heavily, they resolved to withdraw their forces from the island while retreat by the sea was still open to them.

Just as the ships were about to weigh anchor, there occurred an eclipse of the moon. This portent caused the greatest consternation among the Athenian troops. Nicias unfortunately was a superstitious man, having full faith in omens and divination. He sought now the advice, not of his colleagues, but of his soothsayers. They pronounced the portent to be an unfavorable one, and advised that the retreat be delayed thirty-seven days.

Never did a reliance upon omens more completely undo a people. The salvation of the Athenians depended absolutely upon their immediate retreat. The delay prescribed by the diviners was fatal. It seems the irony of fate that the Athenians, who of all the peoples of antiquity had most completely freed themselves from superstition, who more than any other men had learned to depend in the management of their affairs upon their own intelligence and judgment, should perish through a superstitious regard for omens and divination.

Further disaster and a failure of provisions finally convinced the Athenians that they must without longer delay fight their way out by sea or by land. They resolved to make an attempt first to break through the blockade at the mouth of the harbor, and thus open a way of escape by the sea. Failing in this, they proposed to burn their ships, cut their way through the surrounding enemy, and march to some friendly city.

The attempt to fight their way out of the harbor failed dismally. There was now no course open save retreat by land. Making such preparations as they could for their march, they set out. "They were," says Thucydides, whose words alone can picture the distress of the scene, "in a dreadful condition: indeed they seemed not like an army, but like the fugitive population of a city captured after a siege; and of a great city, too; for the multitude who were marching numbered not less than forty thousand."

Pursued and harassed by the Syracusans, the fleeing multitude was practically annihilated. Only a few escaped. The prisoners, about 7000 in number, were crowded in deep, open stone quarries around Syracuse, in which prison pens hundreds soon died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold into slavery. The generals Nicias and Demosthenes⁸ were both executed.

The tragedy of the Sicilian expedition was now ended. Two centuries were to pass before Sicily was again to become the arena of transactions equally significant for universal history. Then another imperial city was to seek in Sicily, with Heaven more propitious, the path to universal dominion (sec. 427).

III. FROM THE SICILIAN DISASTER TO THE FALL OF ATHENS; THE DECELEAN WAR (413-404 B.C.)

249. **How the Intelligence of the Disaster in Sicily was received at Athens.** — There was never any official report made to the Athenians at home respecting the fate of their fleet and army in Sicily; for there was no one left who could make such a report. Several weeks passed before the news of the disaster reached Athens; and when finally chance survivors of the catastrophe came in with the terrible intelligence, the Athenians treated as ridiculous fabrications their reports of what had happened in the island. It was no wonder that the Athenians refused to believe the stories of the fugitives; the tidings were simply incredible.

Finally, however, the Athenians were forced to recognize the truth of the reports. Their first incredulity now gave way to mingled feelings of anger, grief, and fear. Their first emotions, when at last they really comprehended the magnitude and completeness of the disaster that had befallen their city, seem to have been feelings of furious wrath against the orators, soothsayers, oracle mongers, and all who had advised or encouraged the

⁸ In response to urgent appeals from Nicias, the Athenians in the spring of 413 B.C. had sent out to Italy large reinforcements under the general Demosthenes.

undertaking, forgetting that it was they themselves who, in spite of the advice of Nicias and others, had voted the expedition.⁹

But even anger had to make place for grief. It was the young men especially who had eagerly pushed forward for a place in the departing ships. There was scarcely a family in Athens that did not mourn a son or near relative, while all mourned neighbors and friends and fellow-citizens. And the cause of grief was not simply that relatives and friends had not returned; all the circumstances attending their fate made the grief of those remaining the deeper and more inconsolable. Uncertainty shrouded the fate of friends; the dead lay without the indispensable rites of burial; the living, reserved for a worse fate, were suffering the horrors of imprisonment in the quarries of Syracuse, or were already toiling in slavery.

A panic of fear, too, had seized upon the people. They saw their city stripped of its men and ships, and thus defenseless in the midst of a world of enemies. In imagination they saw all their old deadly enemies, the Bœotians, the Corinthians, the Spartans, and all the others—they realized now in their helplessness how many enemies they had made—already at their city gates.

250. Effect of the Occupation of Decelea by the Spartans.—What contributed greatly to this feeling of helpless fear was the fact that the city was already virtually in a state of siege by land through the occupation of Decelea by the Peloponnesians (sec. 247).

The fortification of Decelea was the master stroke of the Spartans during the war. Thucydides says that the occupation of this place by the enemy was "a chief cause" of the final fall of Athens. Attica was not simply lost to Athens, but was practically transformed into a Laconian land. The garrison so completely devastated the surrounding country that all the sheep and cattle of the Athenians perished, while a great multitude of their slaves escaped. The overland route from the Eubœan straits, by which a large part of the food supplies of Athens was ordinarily brought to the city, was blocked, and everything had

⁹ Thucydides, vii. 1.

now to be brought in by ship. The citizens, moreover, were in constant fear of a surprise, for Decelea was within sight of Athens, and were worn out with watching their walls night and day. Indeed, such a determining effect did the occupation by the Spartans of this strategic point exercise upon the remainder of the war that this latter period of it, as already noted, is known as the Decelean War.

251. Measures adopted by the Athenians for maintaining the War.—After a time the vehemence of their first feelings gave place in the Athenians to a calmer temper, and gradually, since the expected enemy did not appear, to a more hopeful mood; and with most admirable courage they set to work to retrieve their seemingly irretrievable fortune.

Measures were concerted for the raising of a new army, for the awful disaster had swept away more than one third of the effective fighting force of the city. Counting their allies, the Athenians had lost in Sicily sixty thousand men. To fill, in so far as possible, the great gaps in their ranks, they now passed a decree recalling from banishment all save such as had actually joined the enemy. The garrisons on the Peloponnesian shore, save the one at Pylos, were called home to help man the walls of the city.

And as with the army, so was it with the fleet. It had been practically swept out of existence. Nearly two hundred ships had been lost on the Sicilian shores. The harbor of the Piræus was almost empty. But the Athenians now set energetically to work to repair their loss. Ship timber was brought from Macedonia and Thrace, and the docks of the Piræus soon presented a scene of bustling activity. The spring following the disaster saw a considerable fleet of new ships ready to challenge again the enemy on the seas.

252. Alcibiades is recalled and tries to undo the Mischief he has done (411–407 B.C.).—Had the Athenians been united among themselves, perhaps their efforts might not have been in vain. But the aristocratic party, for the sake of ruining the democracy, were willing to ruin the empire. Taking advantage of the absence of the army from Athens, they overturned the

government, and established a sort of aristocratic rule (411 B.C.), under which affairs were in the hands of a council of Four Hundred.

The Athenian troops, however, who were at Samos, would not recognize the new government. They voted themselves to be the true Athens, took an oath to uphold the democracy, and forgetting and forgiving the past, recalled Alcibiades — who had been intriguing for his return — and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said respecting the disposition of the Athenians towards the spoiled favorite, — “‘They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.’”

Alcibiades detached the Persians from the side of the Spartans, — he himself had traitorously persuaded them again to intermeddle in the affairs of the Greeks, — and gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. Consequently the struggle grew more and more hopeless. Alcibiades was defeated, and, fearing to face the Athenians, who had deposed him from his command, sought safety in flight.¹⁰

453. The Battle of Arginusæ (406 B.C.); the Condemnation of the Athenian Generals. — The most important engagement of the following year was the great sea fight between the Peloponnesian fleet of one hundred and twenty ships and the Athenian fleet of one hundred and fifty ill-equipped vessels, at the islets of Arginusæ, which lie between Lesbos and the Asian shore. The Athenians were victorious, but twenty-five of their ships were wrecked in the terrible encounter.

The splendid victory was marred by a great misfortune and a great crime. After the battle forty-seven of the Athenian ships had been detailed to rescue the crews of the wrecked galleys, while the remainder pursued the fleeing enemy. A severe storm arising, the rescuing party was unable to reach the wrecks, and the crews perished. Although no one seems to have been to blame, at least criminally to blame, for the misfortune, still the

¹⁰ Some years later he was killed in Asia Minor, one account says by political, but another by personal, enemies (404 B.C.).

assembly at Athens, by a hurried and illegal vote, notwithstanding the protest of the philosopher Socrates, who happened at the time to be one of the presiding officers of the Ecclesia, condemned eight of the generals in command of the fleet to death, and carried the decree into effect as to the six who were present in the city. This action of the Athenians was another of the crimes of the democracy, and one of which the people afterwards bitterly repented.

254. Capture of the Athenian Fleet by Lysander at Ægospotami (405 B.C.).—The year following the condemnation of the Athenian generals the war was virtually ended by the surprise and capture of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami (goat's rivers), on the Hellespont, by the Spartan general Lysander.

All of the prisoners save the native Athenians were released; these were led out and, to the number of four thousand it is said, put to death, the usual rites of burial being denied their bodies. The excuse offered for this massacre was that the Athenians had thrown some prisoners from a precipice, and also that they had determined to cut off the right hand of all the prisoners they might make. Probably there was no truth in these accusations, but they served as a pretext for the barbarous act.

It is worthy of note here that the Greeks had advanced beyond that state of barbarism in war where the life of the prisoner is taken merely for the sake of taking it, and had begun to recognize the right of the vanquished at least to life, unless this right had been forfeited by some special act of treachery or disregard of the generally recognized laws of war.

255. The Fall of Athens (404 B.C.).—Among the few Athenian vessels that escaped capture at the hands of Lysander was the state ship *Paralus*, which hastened to Athens with the tidings of the terrible misfortune. It arrived in the nighttime, and from the Piræus the awful news, published by a despairing wail, spread up the Long Walls into the upper city. "That night," says Xenophon, "no one slept."¹¹ All knew that the fate of Athens was sealed.

¹¹ *Hellenica*, ii. 2, 3-4.

The towns on the Thracian and Macedonian coasts and the islands of the Ægean belonging to the Athenian Empire now fell into the hands of the Peloponnesians. Athens was besieged by sea and land, and soon forced to surrender. Some of the allies insisted upon a total destruction of the city and the conversion of its site into pasture land. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece." The real motive of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful, and the leadership of Sparta be thereby endangered.

The final resolve of the conference was that the lives of the Athenians should be spared, but that they should be required to demolish their Long Walls and those of the Piræus, to give up all their ships save twelve, to allow their exiles to return, and to bind themselves to do Sparta's bidding both by sea and by land.

The Athenians were forced to surrender on these hard and humiliating conditions. Straightway the victors dismantled the harbor at Piræus, burning the unfinished ships on the docks, and then began the demolition of the Long Walls and the fortifications, the work going on to the accompaniment of festive music and dancing; for the Peloponnesians, says Xenophon, looked upon that day as the beginning of liberty for the Hellenes.

The long war was now over. The dominion of the imperial city of Athens was at an end, and the great days of Greece were past.

256. The Results of the War. — "Never," says Thucydides, commenting upon the lamentable results of the Peloponnesian War, "never were so many cities captured and depopulated. . . . Never were exile and slaughter more frequent, whether in the war or brought about by civil strife." Greece never recovered from the blow which had destroyed so large a part of her population.

Athens was merely the wreck of her former self. The harbor of the Piræus, once crowded with the ships of the imperial city, was now empty. The population of the capital had been terribly thinned. Things were just the reverse now of what they were

at the time of the Persian invasion, when, with Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis, taunted with being a man without a city, could truthfully declare that Athens was there on the sea in her ships. Now the real Athens was gone; only the empty shell remained. And with her was gone every good hope of the Greek cities ever being gathered into a nation, and an end thereby placed to their never-ceasing contentions and wars.

Not Athens alone, but all Hellas, bore the marks of the cruel war. Sites once covered with pleasant villages or flourishing towns were now plow and pasture land. But more lamentable than all else was the effect of the war upon the intellectual and moral life of the Greek race. The Grecian world had sunk many degrees in morality; while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas, the center and home of which had been Athens, were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect, especially in the fields of philosophic thought, in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Alcibiades*. THUCYDIDES, ii. 35-46; the funeral oration of Pericles. XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, i. 4; the return of Alcibiades to Athens.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vol. iii, pp. 321-413. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vols. iv-vi. ABBOTT, vol. iii, chaps. iii-xii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. xxi-xxviii. COX, *History of Greece*, vol. ii, pp. 104-594; and *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Kleon," "Brasidas," "Demosthenes," and "Nicias." For a connected history of the Sicilian Greek cities, see FREEMAN, *The Story of Sicily*. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. ii, "Defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, B.C. 413."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The debate in the Athenian assembly on the proposed Sicilian expedition. See *Thucydides*, vi. 8-23. 2. The siege of Plataea. 3. Alcibiades. 4. Nicias.



CHAPTER XXIII

THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

(404-362 B.C.)

I. THE SPARTAN SUPREMACY (404-371 B.C.)

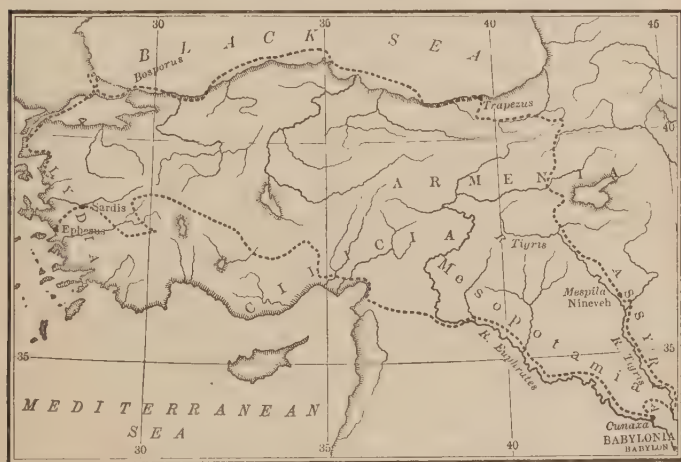
257. The Character of the Period. — Throughout the Peloponnesian War, Sparta had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain for the Grecian cities the liberty of which Athens had deprived them. But no sooner was the power of Athens broken than Sparta herself began to play the tyrant, and set up in Greece a despotism far more unendurable than any that Athens had ever maintained.

The cities freed from the rule of Athens, instead of being left free to manage their own affairs, were at once made the subjects of Sparta. Their democratic governments were overthrown and authority was placed in the hands of oligarchic councils or bands, generally composed of ten persons, and hence known as *decarchies*, whose tyranny was supported by Lacedæmonian garrisons. Further, Spartan governors, called *harmosts*, officers who exercised the arbitrary authority of Persian satraps, were sent to the different cities. The experience of Athens under the rule of the board of oligarchs into whose hands Lysander delivered the city may be taken as typical of the experiences of the other cities whose affairs the Spartans regulated in like manner.

258. The Thirty Tyrants at Athens (404-403 B.C.). — One of the conditions exacted by Lysander of the Athenians upon their surrender was that they should allow the return of the exiled oligarchs. This measure was intended by Lysander to pave the way for the abolition of the democratic government, and it worked just as he had planned,

Upon the return of the oligarchs the democracy was overthrown, and in its place was set up an oligarchic government, administered by a board of thirty persons, at the head of which was Critias. These men instituted such an infamous tyranny that they were known as the Thirty Tyrants. Their rule was a perfect reign of terror, and was supported by a Lacedæmonian garrison established on the Acropolis.

The tyranny was too atrocious to endure long. It was brought to an end by a band of exiles, and the old democratic constitution, somewhat changed, was reëstablished (403 B.C.). The memory of the Thirty Tyrants was assigned to eternal execration.



MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS

259. The Expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (401-400 B.C.).—Shortly after these transactions at Athens there took place an affair of momentous consequences in Asia. This was the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the heart of the dominions of the Great King. The circumstances of this remarkable exploit were these.

Cyrus, brother of the Persian king Artaxerxes II, and satrap in Asia Minor, feeling that he had been unjustly excluded from the

throne by his brother, secretly planned to dethrone him. From various quarters he gathered an army of over 100,000 barbarians and about 13,000 Greek mercenaries under the lead of a Spartan named Clearchus, and set out on the undertaking.

The march of the expedition through Asia Minor and across the Mesopotamian plains was, strangely enough, unimpeded by the Persians, and Cyrus had penetrated to the very heart of the Persian Empire before, at Cunaxa in Babylonia, his farther advance was disputed by Artaxerxes with an army numbering, it is said, 800,000 men. In the battle which here followed the splendid conduct of the Greeks won the day for their leader. Cyrus, however, was slain; and Clearchus and the other Grecian generals were treacherously seized and put to death.

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. The chief of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Under his direction the Greeks made one of the most memorable retreats in all history. They traversed the plains of the Tigris, and then, in the midst of the winter season, crossed the snowy passes of the mountains of Armenia. Finally, after almost incredible hardships, the head of the retreating column reached the top of a mountain ridge whence the waters of the Euxine appeared to view. A great shout, "*Thalassa! Thalassa!*" (The sea! the sea!), arose and spread back through the column, creating a tumult of joy among the soldiers, weary with their seemingly endless marching and fighting.

The Greeks had struck the sea at the spot where stood the Greek colony of Trapezus (now Trebizond), whence they finally made their way home.

The march of the Ten Thousand is regarded as one of the most remarkable military exploits of antiquity. Its historical significance is derived from the fact that it paved the way for the later expedition of Alexander the Great. This it did by revealing to the Greeks the decayed state of the Persian Empire, and showing how feeble was the resistance which it could offer to the march of an army of disciplined soldiers.

260. The Condemnation and Death of Socrates (399 B.C.).—While Xenophon was yet away on his expedition, there happened in his native city one of the saddest tragedies in history. This was the trial and condemnation to death by the Athenians of their fellow-citizen Socrates, the greatest moral teacher of pagan antiquity.

The double charge upon which he was condemned was worded as follows: "Socrates is guilty of crime, — first, for not worshipping the gods whom the city worships, but in introducing new divinities of his own; next, for corrupting the youth. The penalty is death."

We are surprised that such a man as Socrates should have been the object of such a prosecution in tolerant, free-thinking, and freedom-loving Athens. But his prosecutors were moved by other motives besides zeal for the national worship. Socrates during his long life, — he was now an old man of seventy years, — spent as an uncompromising teacher of truth and righteousness, had made many personal enemies. He had exposed by his searching questions the ignorance of many a vain pretender to wisdom, and stirred up thereby many lasting resentments. He had disturbed many pious people by the unconventional way in which he talked about the popular gods. The fact that Alcibiades and Critias had both been disciples of his was used to show the dangerous tendency of his teachings.

Socrates again had offended many through his opposition to the Athenian democracy; for he did not always approve of the way the Athenians had of doing things, and told them so plainly. He favored, for instance, the limitation of the franchise, and ridiculed the Athenian method of selecting magistrates by the use of the lot (sec. 226), as though the lot could pick out the men best fitted to govern. But the people, especially since the events of the year 404 B.C., were very sensitive to all criticism of this kind which tended to discredit their cherished democratic institutions.

The trial was before a dicastery or citizen court (sec. 229) composed of over five hundred jurors. Socrates made no serious

attempt to secure a favorable verdict from the court, steadily refusing to make any unbecoming appeal to his judges for clemency. Instead of doing this, he embraced the opportunity to tell the jurors some wholesome truths; and after he had been pronounced guilty, when called upon, according to custom, to name the penalty which he would have the court inflict,¹ he said that he thought he deserved to be supported for the rest of his life at the public expense. He finally, however, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, proposed a penalty of thirty minæ.² The dicasts, irritated by the words and manner of Socrates, pronounced against him by a majority vote the extreme sentence of death.

It so happened that the sentence was pronounced just after the sacred ship that yearly bore the offerings to Delos in commemoration of the deliverance of the Athenian youth from the Cretan Minotaur (sec. 128) had set sail on its holy commission, and since by a law of the city no one could be put to death while it was away, Socrates was led to prison, and there remained for about thirty days before the execution of the sentence. This period Socrates spent in serene converse with his friends upon those lofty themes that had occupied his thoughts during all his life. When at last the hour for his departure had arrived, he bade his friends farewell, and then calmly drank the cup of poison hemlock.

261. The Spartan King Agesilaus and the War in Asia Minor against the Persians (399-394 B.C.). — We must now turn from Athenian matters to view the affairs of the Greeks in Asia Minor.

Momentous consequences issued from the unsuccessful attempt of Cyrus to dethrone his brother. Artaxerxes set about to chastise the Greek cities of the coast which, through moral support or active coöperation, had aided Cyrus. These cities appealed to Sparta to defend them from Persian vengeance.

¹ The way of fixing the penalty in an Athenian court was this: the accuser named a penalty (in this case the prosecutor had named death) and then the condemned was at liberty to name another. The jury then chose between the two. They must impose one or the other penalty; they were not at liberty to choose a third.

² A mina was equivalent to about \$18 or \$20.

The Spartans sent the assistance solicited. After the war had been maintained for some time with no very decisive results for either party, new vigor was infused into it on the Spartan side by the appearance upon the scene of the Spartan king Agesilaus. This man was consumed by an ambition to emulate the exploits of Agamemnon. He believed, relying on what the Ten Thousand Greeks had achieved, that he should be able to march to Susa and overthrow completely the Persian power.

Agesilaus was an able commander, and by his successes threatened to make an end of the Persian authority in Asia Minor. Just at this moment the Ephors were constrained to recall him to the defense of Spartan interests in Greece proper.

262. The Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.).—Unable to cope with the Spartans in the open field in Asia, the Great King, in order to secure their withdrawal, had resorted to the device of stirring up trouble for them at home. This it was easy to do, for the tyrannical course of Sparta had won for her universal fear and hatred. The emissaries of Artaxerxes, by means of persuasions and bribes, succeeded in forming a coalition of the chief states of European Greece against her. There now began a long and tedious struggle known as the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.), in which the Spartans, with the few allies that remained true to them, contended against the united forces of Corinth, Athens, Thebes, Argos, and other Greek states, together with the troops and ships of Persia.

As a part of their policy to strengthen the enemies of Sparta, the Persians aided the Athenians in rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus. The restoration of their walls seemed to the exultant and hopeful Athenians the pledge of the restoration of their fallen empire.

But this restoration of the defenses of Athens naturally stirred the jealousy of her new allies, so that their zeal in the prosecution of the war against Sparta slackened, while at the same time it awakened the fears of the Spartans, who, after maintaining the struggle for some years longer, resolved to save their authority in Greece proper by making peace with the Persians.

263. The Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). — In pursuance of this resolution they sent to Susa an ambassador named Antalcidas, through whose efforts were arranged the articles of a treaty, which is called after him the Peace of Antalcidas. By the terms of this treaty, famous because so infamous, all the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as well as the island of Cyprus and the island city of Clazomenæ, were handed over to the Persians. Three islands — Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros — were given to Athens. All the other islands and the states of the Grecian mainland were left each in a condition of absolute independence. No city was to rule over others or to exact tribute from them. The edict of King Artaxerxes closed as follows: "Whosoever refuses to accept this peace, him I shall fight, assisted by those who are of the same mind [which meant the Spartans], by land as well as by sea, with ships and with money."

Thus were the Asian Greeks betrayed by Sparta into the hands of the barbarians. Thus were the hated Persians, through her shameful betrayal of Hellenic interests, made the arbiters in Greek affairs.

264. Sparta forces the Terms of the Peace upon the Other Grecian Cities, but disregards them herself. — Sparta regarded herself as the executor of the Peace. One of its articles said that every city should be independent, — that no city should rule over another; and Sparta now set about enforcing this provision of the treaty, not with a view to giving liberty to cities that were being held in unwilling subjection by more powerful neighbors, but solely for the purpose of breaking up all unions and confederations that might place a check upon her ambition and tyranny.

Under the operation of the treaty, the Bœotian League fell to pieces. The Spartans saw to it that the dissolution was complete, and that there should be no chance for Thebes to revive her presidency of the Bœotian towns. The government in the different places was put in the hands of oligarchs friendly to Sparta. Plataea was restored, and a Spartan garrison placed in the town. Thus all Bœotia was broken up into petty states wholly dependent upon Sparta.

From the dissolution of the Bœotian League the Spartans proceeded to the dissolution of the Arcadian city of Mantinea. The articles of the Peace did not of course have any application to individual cities, but the Spartans, nevertheless, stretched its terms so as to make them apply to the case in hand, since they imagined the Mantineans to be unfriendly in their feelings towards them. They ordered them to tear down their walls. The Mantineans refusing to comply with this mandate, the Spartans laid siege to the town, and soon forced it to surrender. The city was now broken up into five unwall'd villages, four fifths of the inhabitants being forced to tear down their houses in the old town and put them up again out in the country.

The Olynthian Confederacy was next dissolved. This was a most important union of Macedonian and Grecian towns in the Chalcidian region. It was a free and equal federation of cities, somewhat like the original Confederacy of Delos (sec. 219). The towns had adopted common laws, sanctioned intermarriage between their citizens, and adopted liberal regulations respecting residence and commerce. It was one of the most promising attempts that had yet been made to create an Hellenic nation out of the isolated cities of Hellas.

The Spartans had committed many sins against Hellenic liberties, but none that drew after it a more lamentable train of consequences than this. The Olynthian League, had it been allowed to consolidate itself, might have proved a bulwark to Greece against the encroachments of the kings of Macedonia.

The military movements of the Spartans against the Olynthian Confederacy connect themselves with a shameful act of perfidy committed by them against the Thebans. As a Spartan general was marching through Bœotia on his way to Chalcidice, he, consumed by a desire to do some great thing, made a secret descent upon Thebes while the inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of a festival, and seized and garrisoned the citadel (382 B.C.).

All Greece stood aghast at the perfidious, high-handed proceeding, and looked to see the Spartans at home repudiate the act of their general. They did so in this way: they fined the

general for his conduct and deposed him from his command, — but retained possession of the stolen citadel.

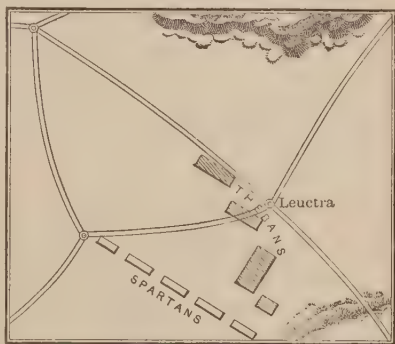
265. The Liberation of Thebes by Pelopidas (379 B.C.) and the Revival of the Bœotian League (374 B.C.). — Even Xenophon, the admirer and steady friend of the Lacedæmonians, was constrained to see in the misfortunes that now began to befall Sparta the divine retribution upon her for her violation of her solemn pledge to leave the Grecian cities free, and above all for her crime in seizing the citadel of the Thebans.

As if to meet the requirements of ideal justice, the avengers of the wrongs of Thebes were raised up from among those very persons whom that treacherous act had made exiles from their native city. Among those exiles who had found an asylum at Athens was Pelopidas, a Theban of distinguished family. Taking with him six other exiles, Pelopidas entered Thebes by stealth, and by means of a stratagem slew the leaders of the oligarchic party. The people were then called to arms, the Lacedæmonian garrison was compelled to withdraw from the citadel, and the government was taken into the hands of the popular party. The old Bœotian League was now revived, with Thebes as the presiding city.⁸

266. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). — But the Spartans would not have it so. They sent an army into Bœotia to compel Thebes to restore independence to the various Bœotian towns. The Thebans, led now by Epaminondas, a devoted friend of Pelopidas and the greatest statesman and commander Thebes ever produced, marched out and met the invaders at Leuctra, not far from Thespiæ. The Spartans had no other thought than that they should gain an easy victory over the Thebans; and it was generally expected that Thebes would now be broken up into villages as Mantinea had been, or perhaps destroyed utterly.

⁸ This revolution in Bœotia marks the beginning of a new chapter in Grecian history. Encouraged by the event, Athens formed a new confederacy like the old Delian League. The union numbered at last over seventy members. Even Thebes joined it. The confederacy was to rest on principles of absolute equality and justice. Its affairs were to be directed by an assembly composed of representatives of all the allied cities. The members were to make contributions to a common fund; but there was to be no more tribute collecting by Athens.

But the military genius of Epaminondas had prepared for Hellas a startling surprise. He had introduced in the arrangement and movement of his battle line one of the greatest innovations that mark the advance in the art of war. Hitherto the Greeks had fought drawn up in extended and comparatively thin opposing lines, not more than twelve ranks deep. The Spartans at Leuctra formed their line in the usual way. Epaminondas, on the other hand, massed his best troops in a solid column, that is in a phalanx, fifty deep, on the left of his battle line, the rest being drawn up in the ordinary extended line. With all ready for the attack, the phalanx was set in motion first, the center of the line next, and the right wing last, so that the solid column should strike the enemy's line before the center or right should come into action. The result was that the phalanx plowed through the thin line of the enemy "as the beak



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA
371 B.C.

of a ship plows through a wave," — and the day was won. Of the seven hundred Spartans in the fight four hundred were killed.

The manner in which the news of the overwhelming calamity was received at Sparta affords a striking illustration of Spartan discipline and self-control. It so happened that when the messenger arrived the Spartans were celebrating a festival. The Ephors would permit no interruption of the entertainment. They merely sent lists of the fallen to their families, and ordered that the women should make no lamentation nor show any signs of grief. "The following day," says Xenophon, "those who had lost relatives in the battle appeared on the streets with cheerful faces, while those whose relatives had escaped, if they appeared in public at all, went about 'with sad and dejected looks.'"

Historians have very naturally been led to contrast this scene at Sparta with that at Athens upon the night of the receipt of the news of the disaster of *Ægospotami* (sec. 255). The contrast impresses us with the wide interval which separated the Athenian from the Spartan.

The moral effect of the battle was greater perhaps than that of any other battle ever fought in Greece, except possibly that of Marathon. It was the first time that a Spartan army with its king had been fairly beaten in a great battle by an enemy inferior in numbers. The Spartan forces at Thermopylæ headed by their king had, it is true, been annihilated, — but annihilation is not defeat. Consequently the impression which the event produced throughout Greece was profound. The prestige of Sparta was destroyed. Her leadership was brought to an end.

II. THE ASCENDANCY OF THEBES (371-362 B.C.)

267. Epaminondas ravages Laconia (370 B.C.). — The victory of the Thebans at Leuctra lifted Thebes at once to a commanding position in Greece. Almost all the states of Central Greece now entered into an alliance with her. So many were her allies, and so eager were all to inflict punishment upon Sparta for all her past acts of usurpation and despotism, that Epaminondas was able to raise an immense army, numbering, it is said, sixty or seventy thousand, for the invasion of the Peloponnesus.

The primary object of the expedition was to aid the Arcadians in forming a confederacy for defense against Sparta.⁴ Once in Arcadia with his army, Epaminondas, yielding to the wishes of his allies, pushed on into Laconia, ravaged it from the northern mountains to the sea on the south, and even threatened Sparta

⁴ Up to this time the Arcadians had lived for the most part in isolated and independent villages. In all the country there were only a few walled towns. Largely because of this state of things, Sparta had been able to hold the different towns and villages in subjection, and compel them to do her bidding. Just now, stirred by an impulse towards union, they were building a federal capital which they had named Megalopolis ("Great City"). Sparta was interfering and trying to prevent the formation of the federal state.

itself. The Spartan women had never before seen the camp fire of an enemy; and the sight of the hostile army is said to have excited them to frantic demonstrations of distress.

268. The Founding of Messene and the Liberation of the Messenians (370 B.C.). — From Laconia, Epaminondas marched into Messenia. The emancipation of the Messenians from their Spartan masters was proclaimed, and Messenia, which for three hundred years had been a part of Laconia, was separated from Sparta and made an independent state. In thus restoring independence to the Messenians, Epaminondas was merely enforcing against Sparta the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas, the articles of which she had herself dictated, and which said that all the Greek cities should be left free and independent.

The Helots and Perioeci, converted by the proclamation of emancipation into freemen, engaged in the work of building a new city, Messene, which was to represent their restored nationality. The walls went up amidst music and rejoicing. Messenian exiles, the victims of Spartan tyranny, flocked from all parts of the Hellenic world to rebuild their homes in the home land.

This emancipation and restoration of the Messenians forms one of the most interesting transactions in Greek history. Two years after their liberation a Messenian boy was crowned as a victor in the foot race at Olympia. For three hundred years the Messenians had had neither lot nor part in these national games, for only free Hellenes could become contestants. How the news of the victory was received in Messenia is not recorded, but we probably should not be wrong were we to imagine the rejoicings there to have been unlike anything the Greek world had ever seen before.

The liberation of Messenia was a terrible blow to Spartan pride and an unmeasured loss and damage to her power. It was intolerable to her in the Peloponnesian War to have a hostile garrison intrenched at a single point on the Messenian coast (sec. 238). Now all Messenia had become an asylum for runaway Helots from Laconia, and the residence and stronghold of her former subjects, imbittered by centuries of hard bondage.

Thus had Epaminondas in a few short months effected one of the greatest revolutions in Grecian history. In his own words, he "had liberated all the Greek cities, restored independence to Messenia, and surrounded Sparta with a perpetual blockade."

269. The Thebans extend their Influence in the North — and "go to Susa." — About the time that Epaminondas was effecting such changes in the Peloponnesus, his friend Pelopidas was extending the influence of Thebes in the North.

At this time Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ in Thessaly, was holding the other Thessalian cities in unwilling subjection. Some of them rose against him and called upon Thebes to help deliver them from his tyranny. Pelopidas led a Theban force into the country, and forced Alexander to grant freedom to the revolted towns (368 B.C.).

Pelopidas then marched against the regent of Macedonia, who had been interfering in Thessalian affairs, and forced him to enter into an alliance with Thebes and to give hostages. Among these hostages was a young Macedonian prince named Philip, of whom we shall hear much later on as king of Macedon. Thus the expedition of Pelopidas resulted in both Thessaly and Macedonia being brought into dependent relations to Thebes.

The year following these achievements Pelopidas was sent as an envoy to Susa to secure from the Great King the recognition of Thebes instead of Sparta as the head of the Greek cities and as the practical executor of the articles of the Peace of Antalcidas. Thebes secured all she desired.

This appeal to the Persian king, whereby he was recognized as the rightful arbiter in Greek affairs, was the most censurable act of the Thebans during their period of supremacy. But in going to Susa the Thebans were merely walking in a path worn by the Spartans and other Greeks.

270. The Battle of Mantinea and the Death of Epaminondas (362 B.C.). — In the year 362 B.C. Epaminondas made his fourth⁵ and what proved to be his last expedition into the Peloponnesus.

⁵ During the years 369 and 367 B.C. Epaminondas made his second and third expeditions beyond the Isthmus, but accomplished nothing of importance.

In Arcadia, near Mantinea, he joined battle with the Spartans and their allies.

Epaminondas employed the same tactics on this field as had given him the victory at Leuctra (sec. 266), and with the same result. But the victory was dearly purchased with the life of Epaminondas, who just as the day was won fell mortally wounded with a spear thrust in the breast.

In accordance with the dying counsel of Epaminondas, the victorious Thebans and their allies negotiated a peace with the enemy. Its basis was that everything should remain just as it then was. Particularly was Messene to be recognized as a free and independent city. The peace was agreed to by all the states on both sides, save by the Spartans, who angrily and obstinately refused to recognize the independence of Messene.

271. The Situation in Greece after the Death of Epaminondas. — The supremacy of Thebes ended on the day that Epaminondas was borne to the tomb. There was none among her citizens capable of maintaining for her the leadership in Greece which her great commander and statesman had won.

All the chief cities of Greece now lay in a state of exhaustion or of helpless isolation. Sparta had destroyed the empire of Athens;⁶ Thebes had broken the dominion of Sparta, but had exhausted herself in the effort. There was now no city energetic, resourceful, unbroken in spirit and strength, such as was Athens at the time of the Persian Wars, to act as leader and champion of the Greek states. Yet never was there greater need of such leadership in Hellas than at just this moment; for the Macedonian monarchy was now rising in the north and threatening the independence of all Greece.

In a succeeding chapter we shall trace the rise of this semi-barbarian power, and tell how the cities of Greece, mutually exhausted by their incessant quarrels, were reduced to a state of dependence upon its sovereign. But first we shall turn aside

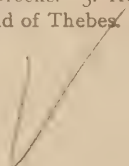
⁶ Athens had indeed made herself the center of a new confederacy (sec. 265, n. 3) and had recovered some of her old possessions, but she was, after all, only the shadow of her former self.

for a moment from the affairs of the cities of Greece proper, in order to cast a glance upon the Greeks of Magna Græcia and Sicily.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pelopidas*. XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, iii. 2; a speech of Xenophon to his soldiers. PLATO, *Apology*, xxxi.-xxxiii.; the bearing of Socrates before his judges.

References (Modern). — CURTIUS, vol. iv. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. vi, pp. 451-533; vol. vii, pp. 81-172 (on Socrates); pp. 173-348 (on the expedition of Cyrus); pp. 349-550; vol. viii, pp. 1-365. HOLM, vol. ii, chap. xxx; vol. iii, chaps. i-x. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. xiv. OMAN, *History of Greece*, pp. 407-469. SANKEY, *The Spartan and Theban Supremacies*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The trial and condemnation of Socrates. 2. The expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks. 3. Athens' new confederacy. 4. Pelopidas. 5. The Sacred Band of Thebes.



CHAPTER XXIV

THE GREEKS OF WESTERN HELLAS

(413-336 B.C.)

272. The Carthaginians lay waste Hellenic Sicily. — It will be remembered that it was the inhabitants of Egesta who invited the Athenians into Sicily to aid them against the neighboring city of Selinus¹ (sec. 245). Shortly after the destruction of the Athenian armament before Syracuse, these same people appealed to the Carthaginians to come to their aid against the same old enemy.

The Carthaginians came with a great army of 100,000 men under the lead of Hannibal, a grandson of the Hamilcar who seventy years before this had been defeated and slain by Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, on the memorable field of Himera (sec. 214, n. 11). Selinus was besieged by them, and after a brave resistance was finally taken by storm. The inhabitants were either massacred or carried away into slavery, and the walls and temples of the city destroyed (409 B.C.).

Hannibal next led his army against Himera, which he soon captured. In revenge for the death of his ancestor, Hannibal offered up to his gods an awful holocaust of three thousand of his prisoners, and razed the city to the ground (409 B.C.). The dismay created throughout the Hellenic world by this wiping out by the Western barbarians of this ancient and powerful Greek city was like that created by the destruction of Miletus by the Eastern barbarians at the beginning of the Persian Wars (sec. 199).

A few years later the Carthaginians laid siege to Agrigentum, which was at this time one of the most populous and prosperous cities of the Hellenic world. A long and stubborn resistance was ended by threatened famine. The inhabitants escaped massacre

¹ For places referred to in this chapter see map on p. 157.

by a hurried flight under cover of the darkness of night. Two hundred thousand fugitives, men, women, and children, made up the pitiable procession. The homeless multitude found asylum among the various Greek communities in the island. All who had not been able to join the night march were massacred by the enemy.

Thus in the course of three years did the Carthaginians, finding their opportunity in the dissensions of the Greek cities, succeed in blotting out several of the largest and most prosperous of the Hellenic communities of Sicily. Throughout a considerable part of the island Hellenic civilization, planted centuries before, was practically uprooted. As we shall see, the land afterwards recovered in a measure from the terrible blow, and enjoyed a short bloom of prosperity; nevertheless the resources and energies of this part of the Hellenic world, like those of continental Greece through the unhappy causes we have recounted in other chapters, were permanently and irremediably impaired.

273. Dionysius I, Tyrant of Syracuse (405-367 B.C.). — The alarm, distress, and anarchy occasioned by the invasions of the Carthaginians afforded the opportunity at Syracuse for a man of low birth, named Dionysius, to usurp the government. His career as despot of the city was long and remarkable, embracing a period of thirty-eight years.

Dionysius occupied a large part of his prolonged reign in ever-renewed attempts to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily. The issue of the protracted struggle was that at the end of his rule the frontier between the Carthaginian and the Greek territory was practically the same as at the beginning of his tyranny.

At the same time that Dionysius was carrying on his campaigns against the foreigners, he was reducing the free Greek Sicilian cities to a state of dependence upon Syracuse.

But Dionysius did not confine his operations to Sicily. With his power fairly consolidated in the island, he turned his attention to Magna Græcia. He conquered all the cities here, from Rhegium to Croton. Many of the cities he destroyed as ruthlessly as though he were a barbarian without Hellenic sympathies

and instincts. Some of the inhabitants he sold into slavery, others he transported to Sicily to swell the population of Syracuse. Even the temples he robbed of their treasures.

The conquered Italian lands were incorporated in the empire of the tyrant, which now embraced practically all of Western Hellas. Thus upon the ruins of a vast number of once free and prosperous Greek cities Syracuse was raised to a position of power and influence corresponding to that which Athens had so recently held in Eastern Hellas.

But the military operations of Dionysius exhibit only one phase of his many-sided activity. The tyrant possessed a Pericles' love of art, and during his rule he adorned Syracuse with many splendid public buildings, meeting the expense of their erection by crushing taxes levied on his subjects and the confiscation of the riches of the wealthy. Since Athens was now dismantled, Syracuse was at this time probably the most splendid and powerful city in the whole Hellenic world.

Dionysius was also a patron of literature and philosophy. Plato (sec. 354) was for a time a guest at his court; but the views of the philosopher, or his way of presenting them, seem to have been displeasing to the tyrant, who caused him to be sold as a slave, from which condition he was ransomed by a friend. Dionysius was himself a poet of no mean ability, and composed a tragedy to which the Athenians awarded the first prize at the Dionysiac festival.

The tyrant particularly aspired to be the recipient of the honors and prizes awarded at the great festivals at Olympia. He wrote poems to be recited to the crowds that gathered there, and sent chariots to run in the races. In the year 384 B.C. he sent an unusually magnificent embassy to represent him at the games. His ambassadors at this time were insulted, and were even threatened with personal violence by the people.

Various circumstances contributed to the vehemence of the feelings of the Olympian visitors against Dionysius. There was the general abhorrence of tyrants ingrained in the Greek mind; and there was the special enormity of the crimes of the Syracusan

despot against Greek freedom, witnessed to by the crowds of exiles, the victims of his unbearable tyranny, who filled the cities of Eastern Hellas.

Besides all this, the critical condition of the Greek world at large at just this moment created a special susceptibility to Panhellenic sentiment in all generous and large-minded Greeks. It was only three years before this Olympic festival that the disgraceful Peace of Antalcidas had abandoned the Greeks of Asia to the Persian king (sec. 263). And now the freedom of the Western Greeks had been extinguished by the tyrant of Syracuse. The seriousness of the situation was vividly pictured by the great orator Lysias, who, in denouncing the tyrant to the crowds at Olympia, exclaimed, "The Hellenic world is on fire at both ends."

The object of universal detestation, Dionysius carried his life in his hands. The state of constant apprehension in which he lived is illustrated by the story of the sword of Damocles.² The Damoclean sword did not fall during the lifetime of Dionysius. He ended his life by a natural death, and transmitted his power to his son, who ascended the throne as Dionysius the Younger.

274. Dionysius the Younger (367-343 B.C.). — The young Dionysius lacked the ability of his father to play the tyrant, and left the government at first very largely in the hands of his father-in-law, Dion, a man of philosophic tastes, and in some respects a dreamer. Through Dion's influence Plato was once more brought to Syracuse and introduced to Dionysius. The philosopher urged the despot to change his tyranny into a regulated monarchy, and to give freedom to the cities of his empire. For a time the tyrant seemed to yield to the influence of his teacher, but very soon the breath of calumny poisoned his mind against both Dion and Plato, the former of whom he was made to believe

² A courtier named Damocles having expressed to Dionysius the opinion that he must be supremely happy, the tyrant invited him to a sumptuous banquet, assigning to him his own place at the board. When the courtier was in the midst of the enjoyments of the table, Dionysius bade him look up. Turning his eyes towards the ceiling, Damocles was horrified at the sight of a sword, suspended by a single hair, dangling above his head. "Such," observed Dionysius, "is the life of a tyrant."

was plotting to undermine his power. Dion was exiled; Plato was permitted to return to Greece.

Freed from the restraints of philosophy, Dionysius plunged into reckless dissipation and began to exhibit the more ignoble traits of his character. His reign was a troubled one and was filled with all sorts of vicissitudes. Most of the Sicilian cities broke away from the empire. The Carthaginians began again to harass the island. Everything was in confusion, and distress among the people was universal.

275. Timoleon the Liberator (344-336 B.C.): the Golden Era of the Sicilian Greek Cities. — Under the stress of these circumstances the Syracusans sent an embassy to Corinth, their mother city, for help to free themselves from the tyrant Dionysius. The Corinthians listened favorably to the appeal, and sent to the succor of the Syracusans a small force under the lead of Timoleon, a man who at home had shown his love for liberty by consenting to the death of his own brother when he attempted to make himself tyrant of Corinth.

Arriving at Syracuse, Timoleon quickly drove out the tyrant and restored the government to the people. He also expelled the despots who were holding in slavery other Greek cities in the island, and restored freedom to these places. At the same time he engaged in battle with the Carthaginians, who were still troubling the Greeks, and inflicted upon them a memorable defeat.

Syracuse and the other Sicilian Greek cities now entered upon the golden era of their history. The desolation that reigned throughout Sicily when Timoleon first entered the island can with difficulty be pictured. Plutarch tells us that cattle and horses were pastured in the streets and market places of the once populous cities, while deer and other wild animals were hunted in the deserted suburbs. A few years before Timoleon embarked on his expedition, Plato had expressed a fear that the Hellenic race would become extinct in Sicily.

Under the reign of liberty and order instituted by Timoleon, the empty cities began to fill with inhabitants. Exiles flocked back from all quarters. Corinth, mindful that Syracuse was her

own daughter colony, gathered from all parts of Eastern Hellas colonists for the repopling of the city. At one time ten thousand emigrants sailed together for Sicily. This great influx of population, and the new and unwonted courage and energy infused into the people by the beneficent measures of Timoleon, brought to Hellenic Sicily a period of remarkable expansion and prosperity.

With his great work of freeing and repopling Sicily accomplished, Timoleon resigned his authority and retired to private life. He died in the year 336 B.C., loved and revered by all the Sicilian Greeks as their liberator and benefactor.

276. The Later Fortunes of the Greek Cities of Sicily and Magna Græcia. — The golden age of the Greek cities of the West came to an end shortly after the death of Timoleon. In



FIG. 90. — COIN OF SYRACUSE

the year 316 B.C. the noted Agathocles made himself tyrant of Syracuse. He reigned for twenty-eight years. After his death a period of discord followed, and then the government fell into the hands of another celebrated tyrant, Hiero II (about 270–216 B.C.), who became the firm ally of Rome in her struggle with Carthage. Soon after the death of Hiero, as a punishment for its having forsaken the Roman for a Carthaginian alliance, the Romans extinguished the independence of the city and made it a part of their dominions (sec. 445).

The Italian cities, which had regained their independence at the time that Timoleon destroyed the power of the Dionysian dynasty, were many of them soon afterwards conquered by the

native Italian tribes, and finally all were overwhelmed by the rising power of Rome.

Having made this hasty review of the course of events in Western Hellas, we must now return to Greece proper in order to trace further the fortunes of the cities of the home land.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Timoleon* and *Life of Dion*.

References (Modern). — GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 366-495; vol. ix, pp. 1-194. HOLM, vol. iii, chap. xi. OMAN, *History of Greece*, pp. 441-449. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *History of Sicily*, chaps. vii-xi. FREEMAN, *History of Sicily*, vol. iv, chaps. x and xi; and *The Story of Sicily*, chaps. x and xi. An interesting brief treatment of the rule of Dionysius the Elder will be found in BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 639-666.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Dionysius the Elder. 2. The Carthaginians in Sicily. 3. Monuments of Greek civilization in Sicily. See Richardson's *Vacation Days in Greece*. 4. "The tyrannies and democracies of Greek cities were in their nature not adapted to create and maintain large empires." Bury makes this statement with reference to the work of Dionysius the Elder. Discuss this.



CHAPTER XXV

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA: REIGN OF PHILIP II

(359-336 B.C.)

277. The Macedonians and their Rulers. — We have reached now the threshold of a new era in Greek history. A state, hitherto but little observed, at this time rose suddenly into prominence and began to play a leading part in the affairs of the Greek cities. This state was Macedonia, a country lying north of the Cambunian Mountains and back of Chalcidice (see map, p. 274).

The peoples of Macedonia were for the most part mountaineers who had not yet passed beyond the tribal state.¹ They were a hardy, warlike race, possessing the habits and the virtues of country people. They were Aryans in speech, but since they did not speak pure Greek and were backward in culture, they were looked upon as barbarians by their more refined city kinsmen of the South.

The ruling race in the country, however, were of Hellenic stock. They claimed to be descended from the royal house of Argos, and this claim had been allowed by the Greeks, who had permitted them to appear as contestants in the Olympian games, — a privilege, it will be recalled, accorded only to those who could prove pure Hellenic ancestry. Their efforts to spread Greek culture among their subjects, combined with intercourse with the Greek cities of Chalcidice, had resulted in the native barbarism of the Macedonian tribes being overlaid with a veneer of Hellenic civilization.

278. The Youth of Philip of Macedon. — Macedonia first rose to importance during the reign of Philip II (359-336 B.C.),

¹ There were, however, a few towns in Macedonia, of which *Ægæ* and *Pella*, each of which was in turn the seat of the royal court, were of chief note.

generally known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of pre-eminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and of rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain.

Several years of Philip's boyhood were passed as a hostage at Thebes (sec. 269). This episode in the life of the prince had a marked influence upon his later career; for just at this time Epaminondas was the leading spirit among the Thebans, and it was in the companionship of this consummate military tactician and commander that Philip learned valuable lessons in the art of war. The "Macedonian phalanx,"² which Philip is said to have originated, and which holds some such place in the military history of Macedonia as the "legion" holds in that of Rome, was simply a modification of the Theban phalanx that won the day at Leuctra and again at Mantinea.

Nor was this all. Besides the knowledge of military affairs which he acquired, the quick and observant boy gained during his enforced residence at Thebes an insight into Greek character and Greek politics which served him well in his later diplomatic dealings with the Greek cities.

The death of his brother Perdiccas brought Philip to the Macedonian throne in the year 359 B.C. With affairs settled at home and his kingdom consolidated, the ambition of the youthful king led him to endeavor to subject the Greek cities to his authority.

279. Philip extends his Dominions in Chalcidice and Thrace. — Philip's first encroachments upon Greek territory were made in the Chalcidian region. He coveted particularly the possession of Amphipolis, which was the gateway from Macedonia into Thrace. He easily made prize of the city (358 B.C.).

Philip next captured the important city of Pydna, on the Thermaic Gulf. Afterwards he wrested Potidæa from Athens, and just to create enmity between the Athenians and the Olynthians, possible allies against him, gave the city to the latter.

² The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground it was irresistible.

The western portions of Thrace were next conquered by Philip and added to his growing dominions. In this quarter he founded the well-known city of Philippi.³ His Thracian conquests gave him control of the rich gold mines of this region, and furnished him with the means which he later so freely used to corrupt and bribe the leaders of the Greek cities.

280. Demosthenes and his Olynthiac Orations ; Philip destroys Olynthus and Other Chalcidian Cities (348 B.C.).—The Athenian orator Demosthenes (sec. 343) was one of the few who seemed to



FIG. 91.—DEMOSTHENES
(Vatican Museum)

understand the real designs of Philip. His penetration, like that of Pericles, descried a cloud lowering over Greece—this time from the North. With all the persuasion of his wonderful eloquence he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist the encroachments of the king of Macedon. He hurled against him his famous *Philippics*, speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

Demosthenes was opposed in his war policy by a considerable peace party at Athens, among the leaders of which were Phocion and Æschines. Phocion was an upright and incorruptible man and an able and trusted general. He opposed Demosthenes for the reason that he thought the interests of Athens would be best served through the maintenance of friendly relations with Macedonia. Æschines was a gifted orator, who, there is reason to believe, corrupted by Macedonian gold, traitorously used his influence at Athens to promote the plans of Philip.

³ Philippi was the first European city in which the Gospel was preached. The preacher was the Apostle Paul, who went over from Asia in obedience to the vision in which a man of Macedonia seemed to stand and pray, "Come over into Macedonia, and help us."

The field of Philip's aggressions at just this time was the Chalcidian peninsula. He was intent upon the destruction of Olynthus and her confederacy. Demosthenes, as we have intimated, appears to have been almost the only man at Athens who recognized the significance of the struggle on the Thracian shore. He saw clearly that the fall of the Greek cities there meant the fall, sooner or later, of the cities of Greece proper. In three speeches, known as the Olynthiac orations, he strove to arouse his countrymen to a sense of the imminence of the danger which was threatening. The burden of the three orations was, It is better for us to fight Philip in Chalcidice than in Attica. If Philip takes Olynthus, he will soon be here. The speeches are filled with complaining comparisons between the alert and patriotic spirit evinced by the Athenians in earlier times when the Persians were at the gates of Greece, and the languid, pusillanimous temper of the citizens now when the Macedonians were threatening the northern passes of the land. In the second speech the orator endeavors to encourage the Athenians to action by showing that Philip's power was rather apparent than real. "It is impossible," he says, "to build up an empire by injustice, perjury, and falsehood."

The eloquence of Demosthenes was all in vain. The Athenians could not be stirred to timely action. Olynthus fell into the hands of Philip (348 B.C.), and with it all the other cities of the Chalcidian Confederacy, thirty-two in all. Many of the towns were destroyed and a great part of their inhabitants sold into slavery.

281. Philip and the Second Sacred War (355-346 B.C.).—Up to this time Philip had not come directly in contact with the states of Greece proper. But shortly after he had added the Chalcidian lands to his empire he acquired in the following way a voice and vote in the affairs of the cities of the peninsula.

The Phocians were accused of having put to secular use some of the lands which, at the end of the First Sacred War (sec. 144), had been consecrated to the Delphian Apollo. Taken to task and heavily fined for this act by the other members of the Delphian Amphictyony, the Phocians seized the temple and used the treasure in the maintenance of a large force of mercenary soldiers.

The Amphictyons, not being able to punish the Phocians for their "impiety,"⁴ were forced to ask help of Philip, who gladly rendered the assistance sought.

The Phocians were finally constrained to yield to superior force. A heavy punishment was inflicted upon them by the Amphictyonic council. All their cities save one were broken up into villages, and the inhabitants were forced to undertake to pay back in yearly installments the treasure they had taken from the Delphian shrine.

The place which the Phocians had held in the Delphian Amphictyony was given to Philip, upon whom was also bestowed the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The position which he had now secured was exactly such as he had coveted.⁵ He now awaited a further opportunity to extend and strengthen his authority in Greece.

382. The Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.).—The opportunity soon came. The Phocians having been again adjudged guilty of sacrilege in using some lands belonging to the Delphian Apollo, Philip was a second time asked to help punish them. He gladly undertook the commission, and straightway led an army into Central Greece. But instead of proceeding to mete out punishment to the trespassers upon the holy ground, he seized and began to fortify a little town in Phocis. This procedure plainly revealed his purpose to make himself master of the country.

Moved by the realization of a common peril and by the persuasion of Demosthenes, the Athenians and the Thebans, in spite of their immemorial enmity one towards the other, now united their forces and met Philip at Chæronea, in Bœotia. The battle was stubbornly fought, but finally went against the allies, who were driven from the field with heavy loss. It is of interest to note that the Macedonian phalanx was led by the youthful Alexander, the son of Philip, who on this memorable field began his great career as a commander. The result of the battle was the subjugation of all Greece to the authority of the Macedonian foreigner.

⁴ The Phocians claimed that they took the treasure merely as a loan (compare sec. 377, n. 2).

⁵ As further outcomes of the war, Philip had made himself master of Thessaly and had got possession of the Pass of Thermopylæ.

283. The Congress at Corinth ; Plan to invade Asia (338 B.C.). — Soon after the battle of Chæronea, Philip convened at Corinth a council of the Grecian states. At this meeting was adopted a constitution, drafted by Philip, which united the various Greek cities and Macedonia in a sort of federation, with Macedonia as the leading state. Differences arising between members of the federation were to be referred for settlement to the Amphyctyonic assembly.

But Philip's main object in calling the congress was not so much to promulgate a federal constitution for the Greek cities as to secure their aid in an expedition which he had evidently long been meditating for the conquest of the Persian Empire. The exploit of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sec. 259) had shown the feasibility of such an undertaking. The plan was indorsed by the congress. Every Greek city was to furnish a contingent for the army of invasion. Philip was chosen leader of the expedition, and commander-in-chief of the war forces of Greece.

All Greece was now astir with preparations for the great enterprise. By the spring of the year 336 B.C. the expedition was ready to move, and the advance forces had already crossed over into Asia, when Philip, during the festivities attending the marriage of his daughter, was assassinated by a young noble, who sought thus to avenge a personal affront. His son Alexander succeeded to his place and power.

284. Results of Philip's Reign. — Philip by his achievements made possible the greater achievements of his son. He paved the way for Alexander's remarkable conquests by consolidating the Macedonian monarchy and organizing an army which was the most effective instrument of warfare the world had yet seen.

But the most important outcome of Philip's activity and policy was the union of the Macedonian monarchical and military system with Hellenic culture. This was the historical mission of Philip. Had not Hellenic civilization been thus incorporated with the Macedonian system, then the wide conquests of Alexander would have resulted in no more good for humanity than those of a

Tamerlane or an Attila.⁶ And, on the other hand, Greek culture, had not this union been effected by Philip, would have remained comparatively isolated, would never have become so widely spread as it did among the peoples and races of antiquity. In the words of the historian Ranke, "The Greeks, had they remained alone, would never have succeeded in winning for the intellectual life which they had created a sure footing in the world at large." Greece conquered the world by being conquered. It was Hellenic institutions, customs, and manners, the Hellenic language and civilization, which the extended conquests of Alexander spread throughout the Eastern world. It is this which makes the short-lived Macedonian Empire so important a factor in universal history.

Selections from the Sources.—PLUTARCH, *Life of Demosthenes*. DEMOSTHENES, *Oration on the Crown*, 297-306. This masterpiece of Demosthenes has been called "The funeral oration of extinct Athenian and Grecian freedom." In these passages the orator points out the cause of his country's downfall.

References (Modern).—GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ix, pp. 195-504. CURTIUS, vol. v. HOLM, vol. iii, chaps. xiv-xix. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, chaps. i and iv. HOGARTH, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (first part). BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 681-737. OMAN, *History of Greece*, pp. 490-520. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Decline of Hellas*, pp. 32-104. TIMAYENIS, vol. ii, pp. 38-91. MAHAFFY, *Problems in Greek History*, chap. vii, "Practical Politics in the Fourth Century."

Topics for Special Study.—1. Philip II and Peter the Great of Russia compared. 2. Imperialism *vs.* Home Rule; or, Was Demosthenes' policy of opposition to Philip wise? See Mahaffy's *Problems*. 3. Phocion. 4. The Macedonian army. See *Curteis*. 5. The Philippics of Demosthenes.

⁶ Mongol or Turanian conquerors.



CHAPTER XXVI

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(336-323 B.C.)

285. **The Youth of Alexander ; Formative Influences.** — Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. Those traits of temper and mind which marked his manhood and which fitted him to play so great a part in history were foreshown in early youth — if we may believe the tales that are told of his sayings and doings as a boy. The familiar story of the vicious steed Bucephalus, which none dared either to mount or to approach, but which was subdued in a moment by the skillful handling of the little prince, reveals that subtle magnetism of his nature by which he acquired such wonderful influence and command over men in after years. The spirit of the man is again shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories came to him : "Boys," said he to his playmates, "my father will get ahead of us in everything, and will leave nothing great for you or me to do."

Certain influences under which the boy came in his earliest years left a permanent impress upon his mind and character. By his mother he was taught to trace his descent from the great Achilles, and was incited to emulate his exploits and to make him his model in all things. The *Iliad*, which recounts the deeds of that mythical hero, became the prince's inseparable companion.

After his mother's influence, perhaps that of the philosopher Aristotle, whom Philip persuaded to become the tutor of the youthful Alexander, was the most potent and formative. This great teacher implanted in the mind of the young prince a love of literature and philosophy, and through his inspiring companionship and lofty conversation exercised over the eager, impulsive

boy an influence for good which Alexander himself gratefully acknowledged in later years.

286. Troubles attending the Accession of Alexander. — For about two years after his accession to the Macedonian throne, Alexander was kept busy in thwarting conspiracies and suppressing open revolts against his authority.

While the young king was campaigning against some barbarian tribes on his northern frontier a report was spread in Greece that he was dead. The Thebans rose in revolt and called upon the Athenians to join them. Demosthenes favored the appeal, and began to stir up the Athenians and others to unite with the Thebans in freeing the Grecian land from the foreigners.



FIG. 92.—ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
(Capitoline Museum)

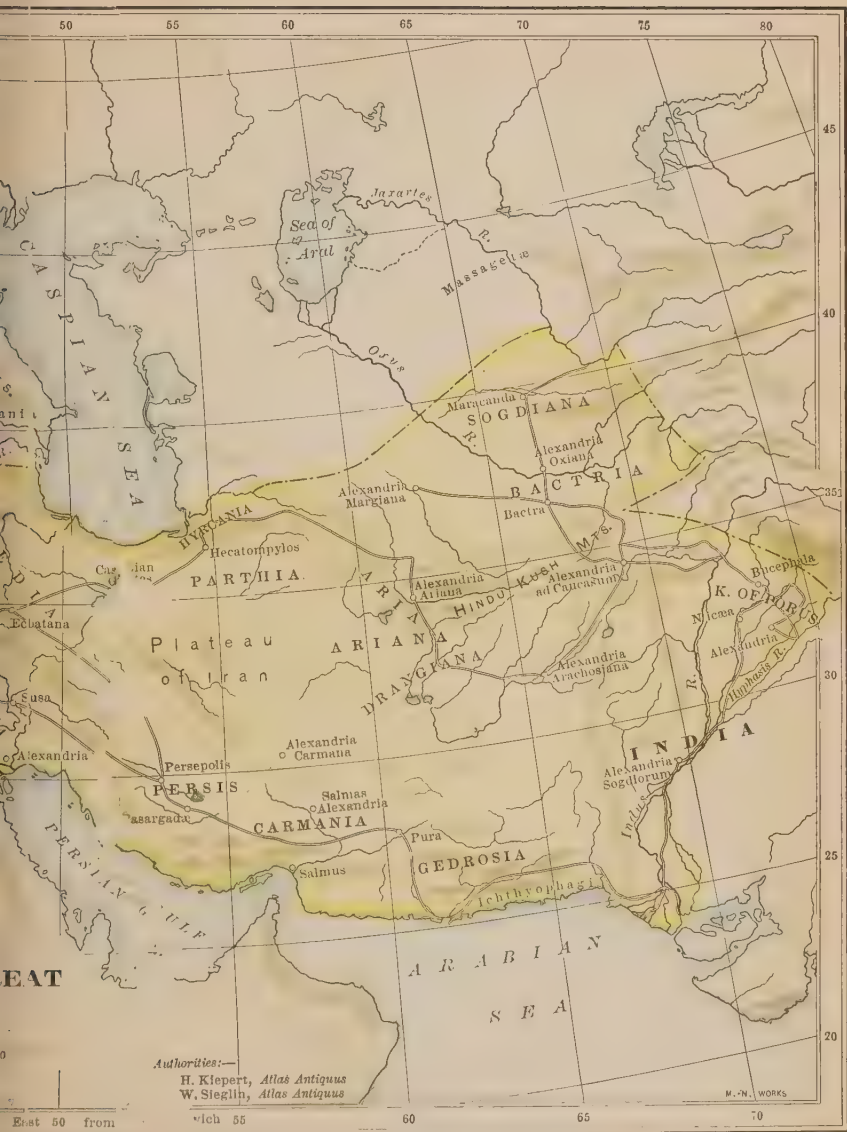
But Alexander was not dead. Before the Greek cities had settled upon any plan of concerted action, Alexander with his army was in front of Thebes. In a sharp battle outside the gates the Thebans were defeated and their city was captured. As a warning to the other Greek towns, Alexander razed the city to the ground, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, and sold 30,000 of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus was one of the largest and most renowned of the cities of

Greece wiped out of existence.

The destruction of Thebes produced the greatest consternation throughout Greece, for many of the cities were implicated in the attempted revolution which had brought that city to ruin. But having meted out vengeance to Thebes, Alexander dealt leniently with the other towns that had by public decrees or otherwise expressed hostility to him, and simply insisted upon the surrender or punishment of a few of the most active enemies of Macedonia.

287. Alexander crosses the Hellespont; the Battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.). — Alexander was now free to carry out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring





of 334 B.C., with all his plans matured, he set out at the head of an army numbering about 35,000 men for the conquest of the Persian Empire.

Crossing the Hellespont, Alexander first proceeded to the plain of ancient Troy, in order to place a garland upon the supposed tomb at that place of his mythical ancestor Achilles.

Proceeding on his march, Alexander met a Persian army on the banks of the Granicus, over which he gained a decisive victory. Three hundred suits of armor, selected from the spoils of the field, were sent as a votive offering to the temple of Athena at Athens.

The victory at the Granicus laid all Asia Minor open to the invader, and soon practically all of its cities and tribes were brought to acknowledge the authority of the Macedonian.¹

288. The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.).—At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander met a Persian army, numbering, it is said, 600,000 men, and inflicted upon it an overwhelming defeat. The family of Darius,² including his mother, wife, and children, fell into the hands of Alexander; but the king himself escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital Susa to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

289. The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.).—Before penetrating to the heart of the empire, Alexander turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phœnicia, that he might command the Phœnician fleets and prevent their being used either to sever his communication with Greece or to aid revolts in the cities there against his authority. The island-city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole, or causeway, built with

¹ At Gordium, in Phrygia, Alexander performed an exploit which has given the world one of its favorite apothegms. In the temple at this place was a chariot to the pole of which a yoke was fastened by a curiously intricate knot. An oracle had been spread abroad to the effect that whoever should untie the knot would become master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the knot, he drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot," — meaning a short way out of a difficulty.

² Darius III, Codomannus (336–330 B.C.).

incredible labor through the sea to the city. This mole was constructed out of the ruins of old Tyre and the forests of Lebanon. It still remains, uniting the rock with the mainland.

When at last, with the aid of the Sidonian fleet, the city was taken after a siege of seven months, 8000 of the inhabitants were slain and 30,000 sold into slavery, — a terrible warning to those cities that should dare to close their gates against the Macedonian. The reduction of Tyre has been pronounced the greatest military achievement of Alexander.

After the fall of Tyre the cities of Palestine and Philistia, with the sole exception of Gaza, surrendered at once to the conqueror. Gaza resisted stubbornly, but after a siege of three months was taken and its inhabitants were sold as slaves. Batis, the brave defender of the place, was fastened by Alexander to a chariot and dragged until dead round the walls of the city. This was in imitation of the treatment said to have been accorded by Achilles to the body of Hector (sec. 130).

290. Alexander in Egypt. — With the cities of Phœnicia and the fleets of the Mediterranean subject to his control, Alexander easily effected the reduction of Egypt. The Egyptians, indeed, made no resistance to the Macedonians, but willingly exchanged masters.

While in the country, Alexander founded at one of the mouths of the Nile a city named after himself Alexandria. Ranke declares this to have been the “first city in the world, after the Piræus at Athens, erected expressly for purposes of commerce.” The city became the meeting place of the East and West; and its importance through many centuries attests the farsighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwah, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his own vanity, as well as to impress his new Oriental subjects, Alexander evidently desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the

son of Zeus and the destined ruler of the world. It would seem that Alexander was quite fully persuaded that, like the early Greek heroes, he was allied to the race of the gods.

291. The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.).—From Egypt Alexander recommenced his march towards the Persian capital. While yet in Phœnicia, he had received from Darius proposals of peace and alliance. The Great King had offered a large ransom for his family, and a surrender of all the provinces of his empire lying west of the Euphrates, but Alexander had refused to make peace even on such terms. "There cannot be two suns in the heavens," is said to have been his reply to the proposal.

Marching through Syria, Alexander directed his course eastward and crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris without opposition; but on the plains of Arbela, not far from the ancient Nineveh, he found his farther advance disputed by Darius with an immense army, numbering, if we may rely upon our authorities, over a million men. It was a motley host, made up of various Asiatic barbarians, together with a large number of Greek mercenaries. Elephants and scythe-armed chariots impressed an Oriental stamp upon the vast array.

The army of Alexander amounted to only about 47,000 foot and horse. But discipline counted for more than numbers. In the battle which was soon joined, the charge of the Macedonian cavalry and phalanx proved irresistible, and the vast Persian host was overthrown with enormous slaughter and scattered in flight. Darius fled from the field, as he had done at Issus, and sought safety behind the walls of the Median capital Ecbatana.

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all Western Asia.

292. Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.—From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. To win the favor of the Babylonians, he restored the temples which Xerxes had destroyed, and offered sacrifices in the temple of Bel.

Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized incredible quantities of gold and silver (\$57,000,000 it is said), the treasure of the Great King. He also found here and sent back to Athens the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton³ (sec. 187), which had been carried off by Xerxes at the time of the invasion of Greece.

From Susa Alexander's march was next directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great (\$138,000,000 according to some) as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance for all Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred and others sold into slavery, while the palaces of the Persian kings were given to the flames.⁴

Alexander having thus overthrown the power of Darius now began to regard himself not only as his conqueror but as his successor, and was thus looked upon by the Persians. He assumed the pomp and state of an Oriental monarch, and required the most obsequious homage from all who approached him. His Greek and Macedonian companions, unused to paying such servile adulation to their king, were much displeased at Alexander's conduct, and from this time on to his death intrigues and conspiracies were being constantly formed among them against his power and life.

293. The Pursuit and Death of Darius. — From Persepolis Alexander set out in pursuit of Darius, who, as we have seen, had escaped from the field at Arbela to the city of Ecbatana. As the Macedonians approached the king fled, thinking to find a safe retreat in the remote northeastern provinces of his empire. But as Alexander pressed closely after the fugitive, one of the attendants of Darius, a general named Bessus, treacherously stabbed his master, and left him in a dying state by the wayside. By the time Alexander reached the spot the king was dead. According to Plutarch, Alexander caused the body to be sent to

³ So Arrian, iii. 16. Other authorities, however, make it to have been some successor of Alexander who returned the statues.

⁴ Read Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*.

the aged mother of Darius, in imitation of the surrender by Achilles of the body of Hector to his father Priam.

294. Conquest of Bactria and Sogdiana (329–328 B.C.).—After the death of Darius, Alexander led his army towards the east, and, after subduing many tribes that dwelt about the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and among the mountainous regions of what is now known as Afghanistan, boldly conducted his soldiers over the snowy and dangerous passes of the Hindu Kush, and descended into the province of Bactria. After the reduction of this country, Alexander subdued the tribes of Sogdiana, a country lying still farther to the north.

Throughout these remote regions Alexander founded numerous cities, several of which bore his own name. One of them is said to have been built, wall and houses, in twenty days. These new cities were peopled with captives, and by those veterans who, because of fatigue or wounds, were no longer able to follow the conqueror in his swift campaigns.

Alexander's stay in Sogdiana was saddened by his murder of his dearest friend Clitus, who had saved his life at the Granicus. Both were heated with wine when the quarrel arose; after the deed Alexander was overwhelmed with remorse.⁵

295. Conquests in India.—With the countries north of the Hindu Kush subdued and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains and led his army down into the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes of the country.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur because of the length and hardness of their campaigns, and he reluctantly gave up the undertaking. To secure the conquests already made, he founded, at different points in the valley of the Indus, Greek towns and

⁵ The Macedonian kingdom which grew out of the conquests of Alexander in Central Asia lasted for about two centuries after his death. Traditions of the conqueror still linger in the land, and coins and plate with subjects from classic mythology are frequently turned up at the present day.

colonies. One of these he named Alexandria, after himself; another Bucephala, in memory of his favorite steed; and still another Nicæa, for his victories. The modern museum at Lahore contains many relics of Greek art dug up on the site of these Macedonian cities and camps.

296. **Rediscovery of the Sea Route from the Indus to the Euphrates.** — It was Alexander's next care to bind these distant conquests in the East to those in the West. To do this, it was of the first importance to establish water communication between India and Babylonia. Now, strange as it may seem, the Greeks had no positive knowledge of what sea the Indus emptied into, and only a vague idea that there was a water way from the Indus to the Euphrates.⁶ This important maritime route, once known to the civilized world, had been lost, and needed to be rediscovered.

So the conqueror Alexander now turned explorer. He sailed down the Indus to the head of the delta, where he founded a city which he called Alexandria. This was to be to the trade of India what Alexandria upon the Nile was to that of Egypt. With this new commercial city established, Alexander sailed on down to the mouth of the river, and was rejoiced to find himself looking out upon the southern ocean.

He now dispatched his trusty admiral Nearchus with a considerable fleet to explore this sea and to determine whether it communicated with the Euphrates. He himself, with the larger part of the army, marched westward along the coast. His march thus lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Beluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings.

After a trying and calamitous march of over two months Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania. Here, to his unbounded joy, he was joined by Nearchus, who had

⁶ According to Arrian, when Alexander reached the Indus he at first thought that he had struck the upper course of the Nile. The presence in the river of crocodiles like those in Egypt was one thing that led him to this conclusion (*Anabasis of Alexander*, vi. 1).

made the voyage from the Indus successfully, and thus "rediscovered one of the most important maritime routes of the world," the knowledge of which among the Western nations was never again to be lost.

To appropriately celebrate his conquests and discoveries, Alexander instituted a series of religious festivals, amidst which his soldiers forgot the dangers of their numberless battles and the hardships of their unparalleled marches, which had put to the test every power of human endurance. And well might these veterans glory in their achievements. In a few years they had conquered half the world and changed the whole course of history.

297. The Plans of Alexander ; the Hellenizing of the World. —

As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates. He proposed to make this old Semitic city the center of his domains for the reason that such a location of the seat of government would help to promote his plans, which aimed at nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of plants and trees from one continent to the other. Common laws and customs and a common language were to unite the nations into one great family. Intermarriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married a daughter of Darius III, and also another of Artaxerxes Ochus ; to ten thousand of his soldiers, whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives, he gave magnificent gifts.

298. The Mutiny at Opis (324 B.C.). — Not all the old soldiers of Alexander approved of his plans and measures, particularly since in these magnificent projects they seemed to be relegated to a second place. His Macedonian veterans were especially greatly displeased that he should enlist in his service effeminate Asiatics, and dress and equip them in the Macedonian fashion. They also disapproved of Alexander's action in wearing the Persian costume and surrounding himself with Persian attendants. So when Alexander proposed to send back to Macedonia

the aged and the maimed among his veterans, the soldiers broke out in open mutiny.

Alexander caused the instigators of the sedition to be executed, and then made to the mutinous soldiers a speech such as they had never listened to before. He recalled to their minds how his father Philip had found them vagabond shepherds tending a few sheep on the mountain-sides in Macedonia, and had made them conquerors and rulers of all Thrace and Greece; and how he himself had made them conquerors of the empire of the Great King, the possessors of the riches of the world and the envied of all mankind.⁷

By these words the mutinous spirit of the soldiers was completely subdued, and with every expression of contrition for their fault and of devotion to their old commander they begged for forgiveness and reinstatement in his favor. Alexander was moved by their entreaties, and gave them assurances that they were once more his companions and kinsmen. The reconciliation was celebrated by a magnificent banquet in which more than nine thousand participated.⁸

209. The Death of Alexander (323 B.C.). — In the midst of his vast projects Alexander was seized by a fever, brought on doubtless by his insane excesses, and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a hundred battlefields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried first to Memphis, but afterwards to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there inclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in Egypt and elsewhere

⁷ Arrian, vii. 9, 10.

⁸ It was soon after this meeting that Alexander's dearest friend, Hephæstion, died at Ecbatana. Alexander indulged in most extravagant expressions of grief. He caused a funeral pyre to be erected at a cost, it is said, of 10,000 talents (\$12,000,000), and instituted in memory of his friend magnificent funeral games. He even ordered the tops of the towers of the surrounding cities to be cut off, and the horses and mules to be put in mourning by having their manes docked.

temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

300. His Character. — We must not pass this point without a few words, at least, respecting the character of this remarkable man, who, in a brief career of twelve years, changed entirely the currents of history, forcing them into channels which they would not have followed but for the influence of his life and achievements.

We cannot deny to Alexander, in addition to a remarkable genius for military affairs, an alert and comprehensive intellect. The wisdom shown by him in the selection of Alexandria in Egypt as the great depot of the exchanges of the East and the West has been amply demonstrated by the rare fortunes of that city. His plan for the union of Europe and Asia and the fusion of their different races might indeed seem visionary were it not that the degree in which this was actually realized in some parts of his empire during subsequent centuries attests the sanity of the attempt.

Alexander had fine tastes, and liberally encouraged art, science, and literature. Praxiteles, Lysippus, and Apelles⁹ had in him a munificent patron; and to his preceptor Aristotle he sent large collections of natural-history objects gathered in his extended expeditions. He had an impulsive, kind, and generous nature: he avenged the murder of his enemy Darius; and he repented in bitter tears over the body of his faithful Clitus. He exposed himself like the commonest soldier, sharing with his men the hardships of the march and the dangers of the battlefield.

But Alexander was, even judged by the moral requirements of his own time, a man of many faults. He indulged in shameful excesses, and gave way to outbreaks of passion that transformed a usually mild and generous disposition into the fury of a madman. The vindictive cruelty that he sometimes manifested in his treatment of prisoners can be only partially extenuated by a reference to the usages and the standard of humanity of the age. The contradictions of his life cannot, perhaps, be better expressed than in the words once applied to the gifted Themistocles: "He was greater in genius than in character."

⁹ For something concerning these artists, see secs. 322 and 327.

301. **Results of Alexander's Conquests.** — The remarkable conquests of Alexander had far-reaching consequences. First, they ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and Western Asia.¹⁰

Second, the distinction between Greek and barbarian was obliterated, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the cosmopolitan creed of Christianity.

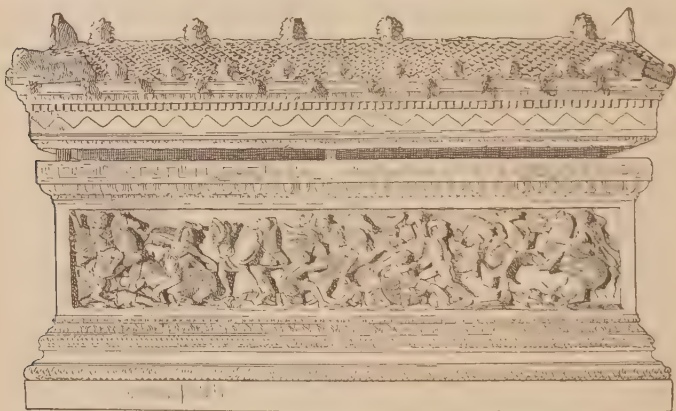


FIG. 93.—THE SO-CALLED "SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER"

The finest of sixteen sarcophagi found at Sidon in 1887

Third, the world was given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings.

Fourth, the sea route from India to Europe was rediscovered. This the historian Ranke, regarding its influence upon trade and commerce, views as one of the most important results of Alexander's expedition.

¹⁰ It was rather the outer forms than the real inner life and spirit of the old Greek civilization which were adopted by the non-Hellenic peoples of Egypt and Western Asia. Hence the resulting culture is given a special name. "This civilization, Greek in its general character, but pervading people not exclusively Greek by race, is properly called *Hellenism*, which means — not 'being Hellenes,' or Greeks, but — 'doing like Hellenes'; and as the adjective answering to *Hellas* is *Hellenic*, so the adjective answering to *Hellenism* is *Hellenistic*." — JEBB, *Greek Literature*, p. 138.

But the evil effects of these conquests were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and the effeminate luxury of the Oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of classical antiquity was undermined.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Alexander*. ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vii. 9, Alexander's speech to his soldiers reminding them of the debt they owe to his father; and vii. 28-30, for an estimate of Alexander's character.

References (Modern). — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*; affords a most interesting and scholarly treatment of our subject. DODGE, *Alexander*. HOGARTH, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (last part). BUDGE, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*. MAHAFFY, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. viii; *The Story of Alexander's Empire and Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ii. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ix, pp. 505-549; vol. x, pp. 1-112. HOLM, vol. iii, chaps. xx-xxvii. TIMAYENIS, vol. ii, pp. 91-148. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Decline of Hellas*, pp. 105-161. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 738-836. CURTEIS, *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*. FREEMAN, *Historical Essays* (Second Series), "Alexander."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Different civilizations in the Persian Empire. 2. Alexander as a god. Bring this into harmony with the ideas of the time, both in Greece and in Egypt. This is a subject for mature students. 3. Influence of Alexander's conquests upon civilization. 4. "On the Persian system of government by territorial division was ingrafted the Greek system of government by city-communities" (Wheeler). Discuss this. 5. Alexander's letter to Darius. See Bury. 6. Alexander as a general.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GRÆCO-ORIENTAL WORLD FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS

(323-146 B.C.)

302. Partition of Alexander's Empire. — There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. It is said that, when dying, being asked to whom the kingdom should belong, he replied, "To the strongest," and handed his signet ring to his general Perdiccas. But Perdiccas was not strong enough to master the difficulties of the situation.¹ Indeed, who is strong enough to rule the world?

Consequently the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests was distracted by the wranglings and wars of his successors, and before the close of the fourth century B.C. had become broken into many fragments.² Besides minor states,³

¹ Perdiccas, in conjunction with his brother generals, ruled at first as regent for Philip Arrhidæus, an illegitimate brother of Alexander, who was proclaimed titular king. Later the government was administered in the name of Arrhidæus and Alexander the Younger, a posthumous son of Alexander. This son was murdered some years later by Cassander, the ruler of Macedonia.

² The most important of the battles of this period was the battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.C.

³ Of these lesser states the following should be noted:

a. Rhodes. — The city of Rhodes, on the island of the same name, became the head of a federation of adjacent island and coast cities, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centers of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Cæsar and Cicero both studied here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

b. Pontus. — Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the luster shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithradates the Great (120-63 B.C.), who spread the fame of the little kingdom throughout the world by his able, and for a long time successful, resistance to the Roman arms (secs. 472, 484).

four monarchies rose out of the ruins. Their rulers were Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus Nicator, and Ptolemy, who had each assumed the title of king. The great horn was broken, and instead of it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.⁴

Cassander governed Macedonia, and claimed authority over Greece; Lysimachus held Thrace and the western part of Asia Minor; Seleucus Nicator ruled Syria and the countries eastward to the Indus; and Ptolemy held sway over Egypt.

The kingdom of Lysimachus soon disappeared. The other monarchies were longer lived, but all were finally overwhelmed by the now rapidly rising power of Rome. In the following paragraphs we will trace in brief outline the fortunes of each, so long as they remained independent states.

303. Macedonia (323-146 B.C.). — The story of Macedonia from the death of Alexander on to the conquest of the country by the Romans is made up largely of the quarrels and crimes of rival aspirants for the crown that Philip and Alexander had worn. During a great part of the period the successive Macedonian kings were exercising or attempting to exercise authority over the cities of Greece. Respecting the extent of their power or influence in the peninsula we shall find it more convenient to speak in the following section.

Macedonia was one of the first countries east of the Adriatic to come in hostile contact with the great military republic of the West. After much intrigue and a series of wars, the country was finally brought into subjection to the Italian power and made into a Roman province⁵ (146 B.C.).

304. Greece: the Celtic Invasion; the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues. — From the subjection of Greece by Philip of Macedon to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were, as we have said, much of the time at least under the real or nominal suzerainty of the Macedonian kings. But the Greeks were never made for royal subjects, and consequently they were in a state of chronic revolt against this foreign authority.

¹ Daniel, viii. 8.

⁵ See secs. 451, 453.

Thus, no sooner had they heard of the death of Alexander than several of the Grecian states rose against the Macedonian general Antipater, and carried on with him what is known as the Lamian War (323-321 B.C.). The struggle ended disastrously for the Greeks, and Demosthenes, who had been the soul of the movement, to escape falling into the hands of Antipater, put an end to his own life by means of poison.

The next matter of moment in the history of Greece was an invasion of the Gauls (278 B.C.), kinsmen of the Celtic tribes that about a century before this time had sacked the city of Rome (sec. 413). These terrible marauders, pouring down from



FIG. 94.—THE DYING GAUL. (Capitoline Museum)

A memorial of the Gallic invasion of Greece in the third century B.C.

the north, ravaged Greece as far south as Delphi and the Pass of Thermopylæ. If we may believe the Greek accounts, they met with heroic resistance and were driven back with great loss. A little later some of the tribes settled in Asia Minor and there gave name to the province of Galatia.⁶ The celebrated Greek sculpture, the *Dying Gaul*, is a most interesting memorial of this episode in Greek history (Fig. 94).

In the third century B.C. there arose in Greece two important confederacies, known as the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, whose history embraces almost every matter of interest and instruction

⁶ It was to these people that St. Paul addressed one of his epistles. See his Epistle to the Galatians.

in the later political life of the Greek cities.⁷ These late attempts at federation among the Grecian cities were one expression of that tendency towards nationalism that marks this period of Greek history. They were fostered by the intense desire of all patriotic Hellenes to free themselves from the hated arbitership of Macedonia. The Greeks had learned at last—but unhappily too late—that the liberty they prized so highly could be maintained only through union.

The Achæan League (281–146 B.C.) was in its beginnings simply a revival of a very ancient religious union of the cities of Achæa, but it finally embraced almost all the states of the Peloponnesus as well as some cities beyond its limits. It was one of the most successful efforts ever made to unite the Greek cities into a real federal state in which all the members should enjoy perfect equality of rights and privileges.⁸

The Ætolian League, established about 280 B.C., was composed not of cities but of tribes,—chiefly the half-civilized tribes of the mountainous regions of Central Greece. Its chieftains displayed little of the statesmanship evinced by the leaders of the Achæan League, and it never became prominent in Greek affairs save from a military point of view.

Both of the leagues were broken up by Rome. In the year 146 B.C. Corinth, the most splendid city at this time of all Greece, and the most important member of the Achæan League, was taken by the Romans, the men were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, the rich art treasures of the city sent as trophies to Rome, and its temples and other buildings given to the flames (sec. 454). This was the last act in the long and varied drama of the political life of ancient Greece. Henceforth it constituted simply a portion of the Roman Empire, and bore the name of Achæa.

⁷ For a study of these confederations, the first of which was very much like our own federal union, consult Freeman's work entitled *History of Federal Constitutions*.

⁸ The chief promoters of the movement were Aratus (271–213 B.C.) and Philopœmen (about 252–183 B.C.), both of whom were trusted generals of the league and men of eminent ability and enlightened patriotism. Pausanias calls Philopœmen "the last of the Greeks."

305. Syria, or the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ (312-65 B.C.). — This kingdom, during the two centuries and more of its existence, played an important part in the civil history of the world. Under its first king it comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus ; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator.

Seleucus Nicator (312-281 B.C.), besides being a ruler of unusual ability, was a most liberal patron of learning and art. He is declared to have been "the greatest founder of cities that ever lived." Throughout his dominions he founded a vast number, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as homes and centers of Hellenistic civilization.

Antioch on the Orontes, in Northern Syria, became after Seleucia on the Tigris the capital of the kingdom, and obtained an influence and renown as a center of population and trade which have given its name a sure place in history.

This colonization of Western Asia by Greeks was, as has already been remarked, one of the most noteworthy results of the Græco-Macedonian conquests. The founding of all these cities, however, as the historian Ranke observes, "must not be reckoned solely to the credit of Seleucus and Alexander. Their origin was closely connected with the main tendencies of Greek colonization. The Greeks had struggled long and often to penetrate into Asia, but so long as the Persian Empire remained supreme they were energetically repulsed, and it was only as mercenaries that they found admittance. This bar was now removed. Released from all restrictions and attracted by the revolution in politics, the Greeks now streamed into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt."

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and became independent states.⁹ Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.), called

⁹ The most important of these were the following :

a. Pergamum. — This was a state in Western Asia Minor which became independent upon the death of Seleucus Nicator (281 B.C.). Under the patronage of

"the Great," raised the kingdom for a short time into great prominence; but through attempting to make conquests in Europe, and further through giving asylum to the Carthaginian general Hannibal, he incurred the fatal hostility of Rome. Quickly driven by the Roman legions across the Hellespont, he was hopelessly defeated at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.). After this battle the Syrian kingdom was of very little importance in the world's affairs. At last, brought again into collision with Rome, the country was overrun by Pompey the Great and became a part of the Roman Republic¹⁰ (63 B.C.).

306. Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323-30 B.C.). — The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the house and dynasty was Ptolemy I, surnamed Soter (323-283 B.C.). Ptolemy was a general under Alexander, and seemed to possess much of his great commander's ability and restless energy, with a happy freedom from his worst faults.

Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy had received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Cyrene, and Cyprus. Following the usage of the time, he transported a hundred thousand Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria, attached them to his person and policies by wise and conciliatory measures, and thus effected, in such measure as was possible, at this great capital of the Nile, that fusion of the races of the East and the West which was the dream of Alexander.

the Romans it gradually grew into a powerful kingdom. Its capital, also called Pergamum, became a most noted center of Greek learning and civilization, and through its great library and university gained the renown of being, next to Alexandria in Egypt, the greatest city of the Hellenistic world. Parchment (it is worth noting that this word is derived from Pergamum) was here first extensively used for books in place of the Egyptian papyrus, the exportation of which the rulers of Egypt at this time forbade.

6. Parthia. — Parthia was a powerful non-Aryan state that grew up east of the Euphrates in the lands that formed the heart and center of the old Persian Empire (from about 255 B.C. to 226 A.D.). Its kings were at first formidable enemies of the rulers of Syria, and later of the Romans.

¹⁰ Compare secs. 452, 484.

Under Ptolemy, Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the productions of the world. At the entrance of the harbor stood the Pharos, or lighthouse, — the first structure of its kind, — which Ptolemy built to guide the fleets of the world to his capital. This edifice was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders.

But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual center of the world, — the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum,¹¹ a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established the renowned Alexandrian Library. He encouraged poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning to settle in Alexandria by conferring upon them immunities and privileges, and by gifts and a munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father, carrying out as far as possible the plans and policies of the preceding reign. He added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage that his father had before him. It was under his direction that the important translation into Greek of the old Hebrew Testament was made (sec. 345).

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323–30 B.C.). The rulers who held the throne for the last two hundred years were, with few exceptions, a succession of monsters, such as even Rome in her worst days could scarcely equal. The story of the beautiful but dissolute Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, belongs properly to the history of Rome, which city was now interfering in the affairs of the Orient. In the year 30 B.C., the year which marks the death of Cleopatra, Egypt was made a Roman province.¹²

307. Conclusion. — We have now traced the political fortunes of the Greek race through about six centuries of authentic history.

¹¹ "The Museum was the first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government; that was something great" (Holm).

¹² Compare secs. 501–503.

In succeeding chapters, in order to render more complete the picture we have endeavored to draw of ancient Hellas, we shall add some details respecting Hellenic art, literature, philosophy, and society, — details which could not well have been introduced in the foregoing chapters without interrupting the movement of the narrative. Even a short study of these matters will help us to form a more adequate conception of that wonderful, many-sided genius of the Hellenic race which enabled Hellas, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Philopæmen* and *Life of Aratus*.

References (Modern). — HOLM, vol. iv; the best history in English of the period. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. x, pp. 213-326. GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East." MAHAFFY, *The Story of Alexander's Empire; Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*; and *A Survey of Greek Civilization*, chaps. viii and ix. GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vii. FREEMAN, *History of Federal Government*, chaps. v-ix, gives with great fullness the history of the Achæan League; and *Periods of European History* (first lecture). SAYCE, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, lect. x, "The Place of the Egyptian Religion in the History of Theology." DAVIDSON, *The Education of the Greek People*, chap. viii, "Greek Education in Contact with the Great Eastern World." DRAPER, *Intellectual Development of Europe*; has an account of the Alexandrian Museum.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Museum and Library at Alexandria. 2. The Achæan League. See *Freeman* and *Greenidge*. 3. "Hellenism and the fate of the Greek Constitution." See *Greenidge*, chap. viii. 4. Daphne at Antioch. 5. Rhodes as a center of Hellenistic culture. See *Holm*.



FIG. 95. — COIN OF ATHENS. (Third century B.C.)

CHAPTER XXVIII

GREEK ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

308. Introductory: the Greek Sense of Beauty. — The Greeks were artists by nature. Everything they made, from the shrines for their gods to the meanest utensils of domestic use, was beautiful. “Ugliness gave them pain like a blow.” Beauty they placed next to holiness; indeed, they almost or quite made beauty and goodness the same thing. It is said that it was noted by the Greeks as something strange and exceptional that Socrates was good, notwithstanding he was ugly in feature.

The first maxim in Greek art was the same as that which formed the first principle in Greek morality — “Nothing in excess.” The Greek eye was offended at any exaggeration of parts, at any lack of symmetry or proportion in an object. The proportions of the Greek temple are perfect. Any deviations from the canons of the Greek artists are found to be departures from the ideal.

Clearness of outline was another requirement of Greek taste. The æsthetic Greek had a positive dislike of all vagueness or indistinctness of form. Contrast the clear-cut lines of a Greek temple with the vague, vanishing lines of a mediæval Gothic cathedral.

It is possible that Nature herself taught the Greeks these first principles of their art. Nature in Greece never goes to extremes. The mountains and islands are never overlarge. The climate is rarely excessively cold or oppressively hot. And Nature here seems to abhor vagueness. The singular transparency of the atmosphere, especially that of Attica, lends a remarkable clearness of outline to every object. The Parthenon in its clear-cut features seems modeled after the hills that lie with such absolute clearness of form against the Attic sky.

I. ARCHITECTURE

309. Orders of Greek Architecture. — By the close of the sixth century Greek architecture had made considerable advance and presented three distinct styles or orders. These are known as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian (Fig. 96). They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and ornamentation of the column.

The Doric column is without a base and has a perfectly plain capital. At first the Doric temples of the Greeks were almost as

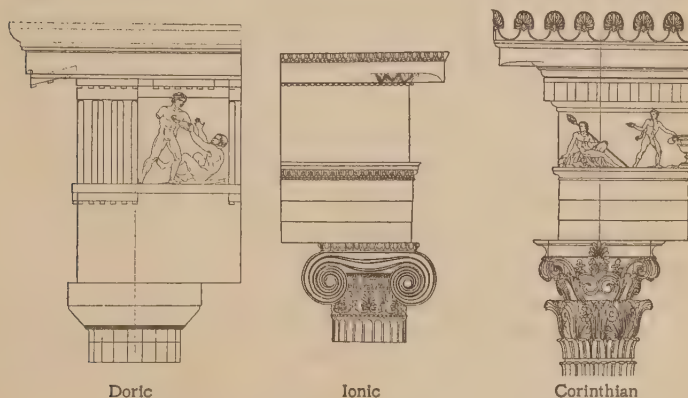


FIG. 96. — ORDERS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

massive as those of the Egyptian builders, but gradually they grew less heavy as they became permeated with the freer Greek spirit.

The Ionic column is characterized by the spiral volutes of the capital. This form was principally employed by the Greeks of Ionia, whence its name.

The Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. The addition of the acanthus leaves is said to have been suggested to the artist Callimachus by the pretty effect of a basket surrounded by the leaves of an acanthus plant, upon which it had accidentally fallen. This order was not much employed in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great.

The entire structure was made to harmonize with its supporting columns. The general characteristics of the orders are happily suggested by the terms we use when we speak of the "severe" Doric, the "graceful" Ionic, and the "ornate" Corinthian.

Speaking of the place which these styles held in Greek architecture and have held in that of the world since Greek times, an eminent authority says, "We may admit that the invention and perfecting of these orders of Greek architecture has been (with one exception—the introduction of the arch) the most important event in the architectural history of the world."

310. Greek Architecture chiefly Sacred ; Early Greek Temples.—Religion was the very breath of Greek architecture. It was religious feeling which created the noblest monuments of the architectural genius of Hellas.¹ Hence in the few words which we shall have to say respecting Greek architecture our attention will be confined almost exclusively to the temples of Greece.

In the earliest times the Greeks had no temples save the forests. The statues of the gods were first placed beneath the shelter of a tree or within its hollow trunk. After a time a building rudely constructed of the trunks of trees and shaped like the habitations of men marked the first step in advance. Then stone took the place of the wooden frame. With the introduction of a durable material the artist was encouraged to expend more labor and care upon his work. At the same time he received helpful hints from the old builders of the East. Thus architecture began to make rapid strides, and by the century following the age of Solon at Athens there were many beautiful temples in different parts of the Hellenic world.

311. The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.—One of the oldest as well as most beautiful of Greek edifices of the Ionic order was the temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus. It was counted as one of the wonders of the ancient world. The value of the gifts and votive offerings to the temple was beyond all calculation ;

¹ The architecture of the Mycenæan Age, which was represented by the palace,—there were no temples in that age,—seems to have exercised but little influence upon the sacred architecture of the classical age.

kings and cities vied with one another in the cost and splendor of their donations. Painters and sculptors were eager to have their masterpieces assigned a place within its walls, so that it became a great national gallery of paintings and statuary.²

Just after the middle of the third century of our era the barbarian Goths robbed the shrine and left it a ruin. Builders of a later date used the ruins as a stone quarry.³ Some of the celebrated jasper columns of the temple may be seen to-day in the great mosque (once the church of St. Sophia) at Constantinople.

312. The Delphian Temple. — The first temple erected at Delphi over the spot whence issued the mysterious vapors (sec. 140) was a rude wooden structure. In the year 548 B.C. the temple then standing was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding.

The later structure was impressive both from its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battlefields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art. After remaining long secure, through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, it finally, like the temple at Ephesus, suffered frequent spoliation. The Phocians despoiled the temple of a treasure equivalent, it is estimated, to more than \$10,000,000 (sec. 281), and later the Romans seem to have stripped it bare of its art treasures.⁴

313. The Athenian Parthenon. — We have already glanced at the Parthenon, the sanctuary of the virgin goddess Athena, upon

² Besides being in a sense museums, the temples of the Greeks were also banks of deposit. The priests often loaned out on interest the money deposited with them, the revenue from this source being added to that from the leased lands of the temple and from the tithes of war booty to meet the expenses of the services of the shrine (compare sec. 58). Usually the temple property in Greece was managed solely by the priests, but the treasure of the Parthenon at Athens formed an exception to this rule. The treasure here belonged to the state, and was controlled and disposed of by the vote of the people. Even the personal property of the goddess, the gold drapery of the statue, which was worth about \$600,000, could be used in case of great need; but it must be replaced in due time, with a fair interest.

³ The site of the temple was for many centuries lost; but in 1871 Mr. Wood, an excavator, uncovered portions of its ancient pavement, and brought to light fragments of sculpture, which may now be seen in the British Museum.

⁴ At all events the spade has turned up comparatively little of value on the site of the temple, which was thoroughly excavated towards the close of the last century.

the Acropolis at Athens (sec. 230). This temple, which is built in the Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus, is regarded as the finest specimen of Greek architecture. The art exhibited in its construction is an art of ideal perfection. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having



FIG. 97.—THE PARTHENON. (From a photograph)

"A summary of all that is best and most characteristic in Greek architecture and sculpture" (Ernest Arthur Gardner)

served successively as a pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder magazine in a war with the Venetians in 1687. During the progress of this contest a bomb ignited the magazine, and more than half of the wonderful masterpiece was shattered into fragments. Even in its ruined state the structure constitutes the most highly prized memorial that we possess of the builders of the ancient world.⁵

314. Olympia and the Temple of Zeus Olympius. — The sacred plain of the Alpheus in Elis was, as we have learned, the spot where were held the celebrated Olympian games. Here was raised a magnificent Doric temple consecrated to Zeus Olympius, and around it were grouped a vast number of shrines, treasure-houses, porticoes, and various other structures.

For many centuries these buildings adorned the consecrated spot and witnessed the recurring festivals. But in the fifth

⁵ For short notices of other buildings at Athens, see sec. 230.



PLATE X. — GENERAL VIEW OF OLYMPIA. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

century of our era the Christian emperor Theodosius II ordered their destruction, as monuments of paganism, and the splendid structures were given to the flames. Earthquakes, landslips, and the floods of the Alpheus completed in time the work of destruction and buried the ruins beneath a thick layer of earth.

For centuries the desolate spot remained unvisited; but late in the last century the Germans thoroughly excavated the temple site and the sites of about forty other neighboring structures. The remains unearthed were of such an extensive nature as to make possible a restoration of the noble assemblage of buildings (Pl. X) which we may believe re-creates with fidelity the scene looked upon by the visitor to Olympia in the days of its architectural glory.

315. Theater of Dionysus at Athens.—The Greek theater was semicircular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut. The structure comprised three divisions: first, the



FIG. 98.—THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS
(From a photograph)

semicircle of seats for the spectators; second, the orchestra, or dancing place for the chorus, which embraced the space between the lower range of seats and the stage; and third, the stage, a narrow platform for the actors.

The most noted of Greek theaters was the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was cut partly in the native rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theaters generally taking advantage of a hillside. There were about one hundred rows of seats, the lowest, bordering the orchestra, consisting, in later times, of sixty-seven marble armchairs. The structure, it is said, would hold thirty thousand spectators.

316. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. — This structure was a monumental tomb designed to preserve the memory of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died 352 B.C. The chief remains of the mausoleum are numerous sculptures dug up on the site and now preserved in the British Museum. It is the tradition of this beautiful structure that has given the world a name for all monuments of unusual magnificence raised in memory of the dead.

II. SCULPTURE

317. Traces of Oriental Influence in Early Greek Art. — The earliest art in Greece to which we can without hesitation apply the term "Hellenic" exhibits distinct marks of Oriental influence.⁶ From both Egypt and Assyria the early Greek artist received models in gold, silver, ivory, and other material, decorative designs, and a knowledge of technical processes. But this was all. The Greek was never a servile imitator. His true artistic feeling caused him to reject everything unnatural and grotesque in the designs and models of the Eastern artists, while his kindling genius breathed into the rigid figures of the Oriental sculptor the breath of life, and endowed them with the beauty and grace of the living form. From the beginning of the sixth century B.C. forward to the fifth we can trace clearly the growing excellence of Greek sculpture until it blooms in the supreme beauty of the art of the Periclean Age.

⁶ The relation of the sculpture of the Mycenæan Age to that of historic times in Greece is really unknown. It is probable, however, that in the primitive art of the Mycenæan period we may recognize an early stage of the art of the age of Phidias.

318. Influence of the Olympian Games and the Gymnasium upon Greek Sculpture. — Towards the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it became the custom to set up images of the victors in the Olympian games. The ground at Olympia became crowded with "a band of chosen youth in imperishable forms." Now, in representing the figures of the gods it was thought, if not impious, at least presumptuous, to change materially the conventional forms; and thus a certain Egyptian rigidity was imparted to all the productions of the artist. But in the representation of the forms of mere men the sculptor was bound by no conventionalism, being perfectly free to exercise his skill and genius in handling his subject. Progress and improvement now became possible.



FIG. 99. — THE WRESTLERS

"Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art" (sec. 143)

In still another way did the Olympian contests and the exercises of the gymnasia exert a most helpful influence upon Greek sculpture. They afforded the artist unrivaled opportunities for the study of the human form. "The whole race," as Symonds says, "lived out its sculpture and its painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great works of Phidias and Polygnotus, in physical exercises, before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

As the sacred buildings increased in number and costliness the services of the artist were called into requisition for their adornment. Every available space was filled with statues and groups of figures executed by the most renowned artists and representing the national deities, the legendary heroes, victors at the public games, or incidents in the life of the state in which piety saw the special interposition of the god in whose honor the shrine had been raised.

319. The Archaic Period, down to the Persian Wars. — The oldest remains of Greek sculpture are specimens of carvings in

relief. A good example of this archaic phase of Greek sculpture is seen in the tombstone of Aristion (Fig. 100), discovered in Attica in 1838. The date of this work is placed at about 550 B.C. A sort of Assyrian rigidity still binds the limbs of the figure and a certain archaism of manner characterizes the whole; still there are suggestions of the grace and freedom of a truer and higher art.⁷

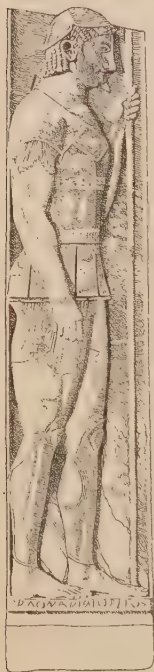


FIG. 100. — STELE
OF ARISTION
Example of archaic
Attic sculpture

320. The Period of Perfection of Greek Sculpture: the Age of Phidias. — Greek sculpture was at its best during the last half of the fifth century B.C. Our space will permit us merely to mention three or four of the great sculptors who contributed to the glory of the age, and name what the world regards as their masterpieces.

Myron, whose best work was executed probably about 460 B.C., was a contemporary of Phidias.

His works were chiefly in bronze. They were strikingly lifelike. One of his most celebrated pieces was the *Discobolus*, or "Discus-thrower," which represents the athlete just in

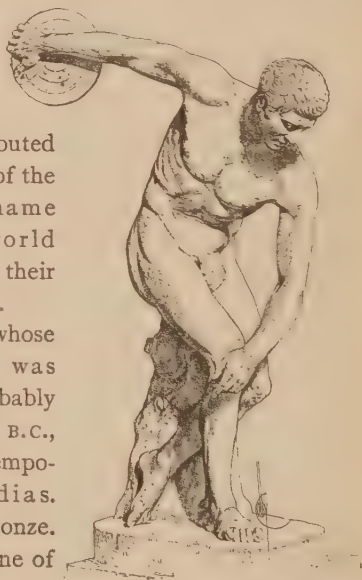


FIG. 101. — THROWING THE
DISCUS, OR QUOT. (The
"Discobolus," Vatican
Museum)

⁷ Other specimens of this early art are the sculptures of a temple of the city of Selinus in Sicily (date about 600 B.C.) and the celebrated figures of the temple at Ægina, now in the Museum of Munich.

the act of pitching the discus. The accompanying cut (Fig. 101) is a copy in marble of the bronze original.⁸

But the preëminent sculptor of this period of perfection was Phidias. His name was almost the only one among Greek sculptors which really lived in the memory and imagination of the Middle Ages. Phidias was an Athenian and was born about 488 B.C. He delighted in the beautiful myths and legends of the heroic age, and from these often drew subjects for his art.

Phidias being an architect as well as sculptor, his patron Pericles gave into his hands the general superintendence of those



FIG. 102. — ATHENIAN YOUTH IN PROCESSION
(From the frieze of the Parthenon)

magnificent buildings with which he persuaded the Athenians to adorn their city. It was his genius which, as already mentioned, created the marvelous figures of the pediments and of the frieze of the Parthenon.⁹

⁸ Almost all the masterpieces of the Greek sculptors have perished; they are known to us only through Roman copies. But to these copies is attributed by archæologists a special value, since they represent, in the language of Furtwaengler, "that pick of the masterpieces of the classical epoch which pleased ancient taste and connoisseurship in the times of the highest culture."

⁹ That is to say, the designs were his; but a great part of the actual sculpturing must have been done by other hands working under the direction of the master

The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of Athena within the Parthenon and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was of gigantic



FIG. 103. — ATHENA
PARTHENOS

After a statue found at Athens in 1880, which is supposed to be a copy, executed in the second century of our era, of the colossal statue of Athena by Phidias described in the text

size, being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, and drapery being of the latter material. On her feet were golden sandals.

The statue of Olympian Zeus was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high and represented the god seated on his throne. The hair, beard, and drapery were of gold. The eyes were brilliant stones. Gems of great value decked the throne, and figures of exquisite design were sculptured on the golden robe. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus.¹⁰ The statue was in existence for eight hundred years. It is

mind. The subject of the wonderful frieze was the procession which formed the most important feature of the Athenian festival known as the Great Panathenæa, which was celebrated every four years in honor of the patron goddess of Athens. The best part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been largely despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva*. To the poet Lord Elgin's act appeared worse than vandalism.

¹⁰ "Phidias avowed that he took his idea from the representation which Homer gives in the first book of the *Iliad* in the passage thus translated by Pope:

"He spake, and awful bends his sable brow,
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate and sanction of the god.
High heaven with reverence the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the centre shook."

BULFINCH, *Age of Fable*.

believed to have been carried to Constantinople and to have perished there in a conflagration in the fifth century A.D.¹¹



FIG. 104. — HEAD OF THE
OLYMPIAN ZEUS BY
PHIDIAS. (From a coin)

321. Polycletus and Pæonius. — At the same time that Phidias was executing his ideal representations of the gods, Polycletus the Elder, whose home was at Argos, was producing his renowned bronze statues of athletes. Among his pieces was one representing a spear bearer, which was regarded as so perfect as to be known as “the Rule.” Polycletus also executed some statues of gods and heroes, among which his *Hera* was regarded as his masterpiece.

Another name belonging to this period of bloom has been given a new luster by the fresh art treasures recovered at Olympia. Among the sculptures exhumed was a *Nike* or “Victory” (Fig. 105) by the artist Pæonius. This beautiful statue was, according to a tradition current in the time of Pausanias, set up at Olympia by the Messenians in commemoration of the humiliation inflicted upon the Spartans, their age-long oppressors, by the affair at Sphacteria during the course of the Peloponnesian War (sec. 238).

322. Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus (fourth century B.C.). — Though Greek sculpture attained its highest perfection in the fifth century, still the following century produced sculptors whose work possessed qualities of rare excellence. Among the names of this period those of



FIG. 105. — NIKE OR VIC-
TORY OF PÆONIUS
(Found at Olympia)

¹¹ Phidias met an unworthy fate. He was prosecuted on the charge of sacrilege because he introduced among the figures on the shield of Athena portraits of his patron Pericles and himself. According to Plutarch, he died in prison.

Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus hold a chief place. Scopas (flourished about 395–350 B.C.) was one of the sculptors who cut the figures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. To him is also ascribed by some the famous composition called the *Niobe Group*.¹²

But the most eminent sculptor of this period was Praxiteles (period of activity about 360–340 B.C.), of whom it has been said that he “rendered into stone the moods of the soul.” Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the *Cnidian Aphrodite* and the *Hermes*. The first of these, which stood in the temple of Aphrodite at Cnidus, was regarded by the ancients as the most perfect embodiment of the goddess of beauty. Pilgrimages were made from remote countries to Cnidus for the sake of looking upon the matchless statue. Many copies were set up in

different cities. About two centuries ago excavations at Rome brought to light a beautiful statue, supposed to be a copy of the original Cnidian Aphrodite.¹³



FIG. 106. — HERMES WITH THE INFANT
DIONYSUS

An original work of Praxiteles, found in 1877
at Olympia

The *Hermes* of Praxiteles was set up in the temple of Hera at Olympia. To the great joy of archæologists this precious memorial of antiquity was discovered by the German excavators of Olympia in 1877, so that now we possess

¹² Other authorities assign this work to Praxiteles.

¹³ This is the so-called *Venus de Medici*. The name comes from the circumstance of the statue having been kept for some time after its discovery in the palace of the Medici at Rome. But this statue is no longer regarded as a worthy representative of the original. The Vatican copy has superseded it.

an undoubtedly original work of one of the great masters of Greek sculpture (Fig. 106).

Lysippus, a native of Sicyon, is renowned for his works in bronze. His period of activity falls in the last half of the fourth century B.C. His statues were in great demand. Alexander gave the artist many orders for statues of himself.¹⁴

323. The School of Rhodes.—

The Græco-Oriental period saw the rise at Rhodes, at this time the commercial emporium of the Eastern Mediterranean, of a celebrated school of sculpture. The city became a great art center, second only to Athens. Its streets and gardens and public edifices were literally crowded with statues. The island became the favorite resort of artists, and the school there founded acquired a wide renown. Very many of the prized works of Greek art in our museums were executed by members of this Rhodian school.

One of the most noted of the Rhodian sculptors was Chares, who was the designer of the celebrated *Colossus of Rhodes* (about 280 B.C.). This work was reckoned as one of the Seven Wonders of the world.¹⁵

But the most remarkable piece of sculpture attributed to members of the school of Rhodes is the celebrated group known as the *Laocoön* (Fig. 108), found at Rome in 1506, and now in the



FIG. 107.— THE NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE (Louvre, Paris)

Set up on the island of Samothrace by Demetrius Poliorcetes of Macedonia in commemoration of a naval victory over Ptolemy of Egypt in 306 B.C.

¹⁴ The statue of Sophocles (Fig. 113) is after Lysippus.

¹⁵ The statue was not as large as the statue of Liberty in New York harbor. The height of the latter is 151 feet. After standing about half a century, the Colossus was overthrown by an earthquake. Nine hundred years later it was broken up and sold for old metal.

Museum of the Vatican. The subject represented is the unjust punishment inflicted, through the agency of two serpents, upon Laocoön, a Trojan priest and seer, and his two sons, by some gods whom he had innocently offended. Of this masterpiece it has been said that "it expresses physical pain and passion better than any other existing group of statuary."¹⁶

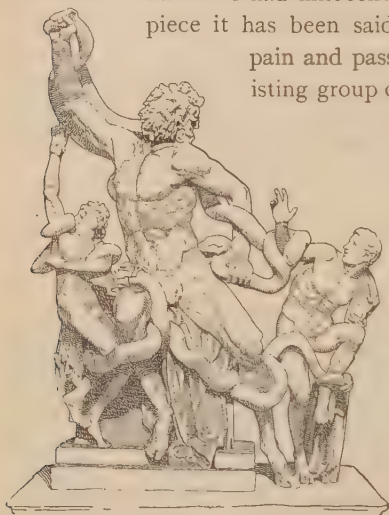


FIG. 108. — THE LAOCOÖN GROUP
(Vatican, Rome)



FIG. 109. — APHRODITE
OF MELOS¹⁷ (Louvre, Paris)

III. PAINTING

324. Introductory. — Although the Greek artists attained a high degree of excellence in painting, still they never brought the art to that perfection which they reached in sculpture. One reason for this less perfect development of the art was that paintings were never, like statues, objects of veneration ; hence less attention was directed to them.¹⁸

¹⁶ Another noted marble group of the Rhodian school is known as the *Farnese Bull*, now in the Naples Museum. It was discovered in the sixteenth century in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome, whither it had been carried from Rhodes in the time of Augustus.

¹⁷ Discovered on the island of Melos in 1820. Popularly known as the "Venus de Milo." Name of sculptor is unknown.

¹⁸ The influence of religion upon the painter's art is illustrated by the Italian Renaissance, when painting entered the service of the Church.

With the exception of antique vases, a few patches of mural decoration, some interesting portraits (Fig. 110), dating probably from the second century after Christ, found in graves in Lower Egypt, and colored sculpturings,¹⁹ all specimens of Greek painting have perished. Not a single work of any great painter of antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently our knowledge of Greek painting is derived chiefly from the description by the ancient writers of renowned works, and their anecdotes of great painters. These classical stories are always epigrams of criticism, and thus possess a technical as well as a literary and historical value. For this reason we shall repeat some of them.

325. Polygnotus.—Polygnotus (flourished 475–455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. “In his hand,” it is affirmed, “the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul.” Of a Polyxena²⁰ painted by this great master it was said that “she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War.”

The Athenians conferred upon Polygnotus the rights of citizenship, and he, out of gratitude, painted upon the walls of some of their public buildings the grandest frescoes the world had ever looked upon. The fall of Ilium and the battle of Marathon were among the subjects



FIG. 110. — PORTRAIT
IN WAX PAINT
(From the Fayum)

“These paintings [Fayum portraits] give us a better idea of what ancient painting was, and what a high state it must have reached in its prime, than anything yet known, excepting some Pompeian frescoes” (Petrie)

¹⁹ It is difficult for us to believe that the Greeks painted their statues and the surfaces of their stone buildings; but the recent discovery of statues and carved stones with the colors upon them still well preserved has placed the matter beyond all doubt. But in architecture, in later times especially, the Greek artist made only a moderate use of color. It was employed merely to bring out in stronger relief the sculptural features and to subdue the dazzling whiteness of the marble.

²⁰ Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings.

represented. On the walls of a building at Delphi he painted a still more celebrated series of pictures representing the descent of Odysseus into Hades.

326. Zeuxis and Parrhasius. — These great artists lived and painted in the later years of the fifth century B.C. A favorite and familiar story preserves their names as companions, and commemorates their rival genius. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed," generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival; "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

327. Apelles. — Apelles, who has been called the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting and carried it to such a state of perfection that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "Art of Apelles."

That Apelles, like Zeuxis and Parrhasius, painted lifelike pictures is shown by the following story. In a contest between him and some rival artists, horses were the objects represented. Perceiving that the judges were unfriendly to him, Apelles insisted that less prejudiced judges, namely, some horses that were near, should pronounce upon the merit of the respective pieces. When brought before the pictures of his rivals the horses exhibited no concern; but upon being shown the painting of Apelles they manifested by neighing and other intelligent signs their instant recognition of the companions the great master had created.

In the hands of Apelles Greek painting attained its highest excellence. After him the art declined, and no other really great name appears.

Selection from the Sources. — PAUSANIAS, x. 25-31; description of the paintings of Polygnotus at Delphi.

References (Modern). — HAMLIN, *Text-Book of the History of Architecture*, chaps. vi and vii. COLLIGNON, *A Manual of Greek Archaeology*; has valuable references in connection with each chapter. MURRAY, *Handbook*

of Greek Archæology; *A History of Greek Sculpture*, 2 vols.; and *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*. PERROT and CHAPIEZ, *History of Art in Primitive Greece*, 2 vols. GARDNER, *Ancient Athens and Handbook of Greek Sculpture*. MITCHELL, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 137-669. DIEHL, *Excursions in Greece*, chap. iv; gives the results of excavations made on the Acropolis of Athens during the years 1882-1889. FURTWÄENGLER, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*. This book is valuable for the specialist. VON MACH, *Greek Sculpture: Its Spirit and Principles*. GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. viii. TARBELL, *A History of Greek Art*. BUTLER, *Story of Athens*. HARRISON, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*. HARRISON and VERRALL, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Greece*. Teachers will enjoy PATER, *Greek Studies*. Consult also by means of Tables of Contents and Indices the histories of CURTIUS, GROTE, ABBOTT, and HOLM.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The relation of the art of the Mycenæan Age to that of the classical period in Greece. 2. The friezes of the Parthenon. 3. The Great Altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamum. The remarkable sculptures of this monument were exhumed on the ancient acropolis of Pergamum during the years 1878-1886. The figures, which were in high relief and of colossal size, decorated the four sides of the substruction of a great altar dedicated to Zeus the Deliverer, in commemoration of the victory of the Greeks over the Gallic invaders of Asia Minor (sec. 304). The altar is supposed to have been built by King Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.). The subject of the sculpturings was the mythical contest of the gods with the earth-born giants, which struggle seemed to the Greeks the counterpart of their own terrific fight with the uncouth and savage Gauls. The reliefs are now in the Berlin Museum. 4. The influence of the gymnasium upon Greek art. 5. Greek painting as represented by the wax-paint portraits found in Egyptian cemeteries.

CHAPTER XXIX

GREEK LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTORY

328. The Greeks as Literary Artists. — It was that same exquisite sense of fitness and proportion and beauty which made the Greeks artists in marble that also made them artists in language. "Of all the beautiful things which they created," says Professor Jebb, "their own language was the most beautiful." This language they wrought into epics and lyrics and dramas and histories and orations as incomparable in form and beauty as their temples and statues.

Even the Greek philosophers arranged and expressed their ideas and speculations with such regard to the rules of literary art that many of their productions are fairly entitled to a place in literature proper. Especially is this true of the earlier Greek philosophers, who wrote in hexameter verse, and of Plato, in whose works the profoundest speculations are embodied in the most perfect literary form. But as Greek philosophy, viewed as a system of thought, had a development distinct from that of Greek literature proper, we shall deal with it in a separate chapter.

329. Periods of Greek Literature. — Greek literature, for the time covered by our history, is usually divided into three periods, as follows: (1) the period before 475 B.C.; (2) the Attic or Golden Age (475–300 B.C.); (3) the Alexandrian Age (300–146 B.C.).

The first period gave birth to epic and lyric poetry; the second, to history, oratory, and, above all, to dramatic literature; while the third period was one of decline, during which the productions of the preceding epochs were worked over and commented upon, or feebly imitated.

II. THE PERIOD BEFORE 475 B.C.

330. The Homeric Poems; their Authorship. — The earliest specimens of Greek poetry, as we have already learned (sec. 149), are the so-called "Homeric poems," consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Until the rise of modern German criticism these poems were almost universally ascribed to a single bard named Homer, who was believed to have lived about the middle of the ninth century B.C., one or two centuries after the events commemorated in his poems. Tradition represents seven different cities as contending for the honor of having been his birthplace. He traveled widely (so it was believed), lost his sight, and then as a wandering minstrel sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas.

But it is now the opinion of the majority of scholars that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they stand to-day, are not, either of them, the creation of a single poet. They are believed to be the work of many bards. The "Wrath of Achilles," however, which forms the nucleus of the *Iliad*, may, with very great probability, be ascribed to Homer, whom we may believe to have been the most prominent of a brotherhood of bards who flourished about 850 or 750 B.C.

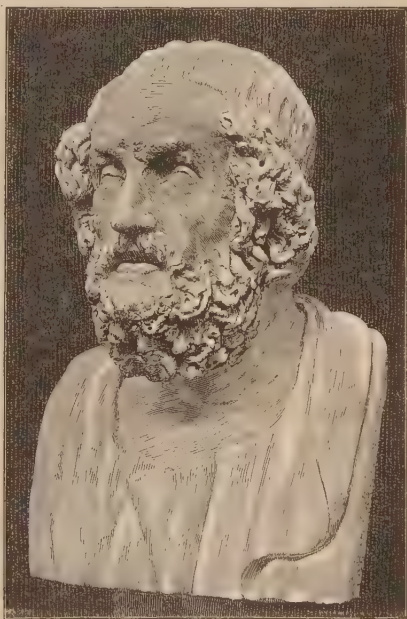


FIG. III. — HOMER

331. Hesiod. — Hesiod, who is believed to have lived towards the close of the eighth century B.C., was the poet of nature and of real life, especially of peasant life, in the dim transition age of Hellas. The Homeric bards sang of the deeds of heroes, and of a far-away time when gods mingled with men. Hesiod sings of common men, and of everyday, present duties. His greatest poem, a didactic epic, is entitled *Works and Days*. This is, in the main, a sort of farmer's calendar, in which the poet points out to the husbandman the lucky and unlucky days for doing certain kinds of work, gives him minute instructions respecting farm labor, descants upon justice, eulogizes industry, and intersperses among all his practical lines homely maxims of morality and beautiful descriptive passages of the changing seasons.

332. Lyric Poetry : Pindar. — As epic poetry, represented by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, was the characteristic production of the earlier part of the first period of Greek literature, so was lyric poetry the most noteworthy product of the latter part of the period.¹

The Æolian island of Lesbos was the hearth and home of several of the earlier lyric poets. The songs of these Lesbian bards fairly glow and quiver with ardent passion. Among the earliest of these singers were Alcæus and Sappho.

The poetess Sappho (flourished about 610–570 B.C.) was exalted by the Greeks to a place next to Homer. Plato calls her the Tenth Muse. "Of all the poets of the world," writes Symonds, "of all the illustrious artists of literature, Sappho is the one whose every word has a peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute and inimitable grace." Although her fame endures, her poetry, excepting a few precious verses, has long since perished.

Anacreon (period of poetical activity about 550–500 B.C.) was a courtier at the time of the Greek tyrannies. He was a native

¹ This species of poetry had a forerunner in Archilochus, who belongs to the early part of the seventh century B.C. He wrote both elegies and lyrics, of which we possess only fragments. He possessed in rare measure "the lovely gift of the muses"; but his satires were often coarse and venomous. Mahaffy calls him the Swift of Greek literature.

of Ionia, but passed much of his time as a favored minstrel at the court of Polycrates of Samos, and at that of the tyrant Hipparchus at Athens.

Simonides of Ceos (556-467 B.C.) lived during the Persian Wars. He composed immortal couplets for the monuments of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ and Salamis. These epigrams were burned into the very soul of every person in Hellas.

But the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and perhaps the greatest of all lyric poets of every age and race, was Pindar (522-448 B.C.). He was born at Thebes, but spent most of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. The greater number of Pindar's poems were inspired by the scenes of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympian chariot races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian, the Nemean, or the Pythian games.

Pindar insists strenuously upon virtue and self-culture. With deep meaning, he says, "Become that which thou art"; that is, be that which you are made to be.

III. THE ATTIC OR GOLDEN AGE (475-300 B.C.)

333. Influences Favorable to a Great Literature. — The Golden Age of Greek literature followed the Persian Wars, and was in a large measure produced by them. Every great literary outburst is the result of a profound stirring of the depths of national life. All Hellas had been profoundly moved by the tremendous struggle for political existence. Athens especially had risked all and achieved all. Her citizens now felt an unwonted exaltation of life. Hence Athens naturally became the home and center of the literary activity of the period.

The Attic literature embraces almost every species of composition, yet the drama, history, and oratory are its most characteristic forms. Especially favorable were the influences of the time for the production of great dramatic works. The two conditions, "intense activity and an appreciative audience," without which, it is asserted, a great drama cannot exist, met in the Age of Pericles.

Hence the unrivaled excellence of the Attic drama, the noblest production of the artistic genius of the Greeks.

V

The Greek Drama and Dramatists

334. Origin of the Greek Drama. — The Greek drama, in both its branches of tragedy and comedy, grew out of the songs and dances instituted in honor of the god of wine — Dionysus.

Tragedy (goat song, possibly from the accompanying sacrifice of a goat) sprang from the graver songs, and comedy (village



FIG. 112. — BACCHIC PROCESSION

song) from the lighter and more farcical ones. Gradually recital and dialogue were added, there being at first but a single speaker, then two, and finally three, which last was the classical number.

Thespis (about 534 B.C.) is said to have introduced this idea of a dialogue, hence the term "Thespian" applied to the tragic drama.

Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character and, further, presented two distinct features, the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first the chorus was the all-important part; but later the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained at great expense, and the dialogue and choral odes formed the masterpiece of some great poet,—and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

335. The Subjects of the Tragic Poets. — The tragic poets of Athens drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of

his plays used the legends of the semi-historical periods of his own country or of other lands. These legendary tales they handled freely, so changing, coloring, and moralizing them as to render them the vehicle for the conveying of great ethical lessons, or of profound philosophical ideas regarding the divine government of the world.

336. The Leading Idea of Greek Tragedy. — Symonds believes the fundamental idea of Greek tragedy to be the doctrine of Nemesis. Nemesis, it will be recalled, was the goddess who punished pride and presumption.

To understand how the Greeks should have come to regard insolent self-assertion or the unrestrained indulgence of appetite or passion as the most heinous of sins, we must recall the legend upon the front of the Delphian temple, — “Measure in all things.” As proportion was the cardinal element of beauty in art, so wise moderation was the prime quality in virtue. Those who moderated not their desire of fame, of wealth, of dominion, were the most impious of men, and all such the avenging Nemesis failed not to bring, through their own mad presumption and overvaulting ambition, to overwhelming and irretrievable ruin.

We shall see in a moment how this idea inspired some of the greatest of the Greek dramas.

337. The Three Great Tragic Poets. — There are three great names in Greek tragedy, — Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. These dramatists all wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian Wars, when the intellectual life of all Hellas, and especially that of Athens, was strung to the highest tension. This lent nervous power and intensity to their productions, particularly to the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles. Of the two hundred and fifty-eight dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have come down to us; all the others have perished through the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) was more than Shakespearean in the gloom and intensity of his tragedies. He knew how to touch the hearts of the generation that had won the victories of the Persian Wars; for he had fought at Marathon and probably also at

Salamis. The Athenians called him the "Father of Tragedy." *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works,—"one of the boldest and most original dramas," Ranke declares, "that has ever been written." He makes prominent Prometheus' faults

of impatience and self-will, and shows that his sufferings are but the just penalty of his presumption and self-assertion.²

Another of the great tragedies of Æschylus is his *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. The subject is the crime of Clytemnestra (sec. 131). It is a tragedy crowded with spirit-shaking terrors and filled with more than human crimes and woes. Nowhere is portrayed with greater power the awful vengeance with which the implacable Nemesis is armed.⁸

The theme of *The Persians* by Æschylus was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good



FIG. 113. — SOPHOCLES. (Lateran, Rome)

² In punishment for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to men, and for having taught them the arts of life, the Titan Prometheus is chained by Zeus to a lonely cliff on the remote shores of the Euxine, and an

eagle is sent to feed upon his liver, which each night grows anew.

⁸ The *Agamemnon* forms the first of a trilogy; that is, a series of three dramas, the other pieces being entitled the *Choëphoræ* and the *Eumenides*. These continue the subject of the *Agamemnon*, so that the three really form a single drama or story. On the Greek stage, the several parts of the trilogy were performed successively the same day. This trilogy of Æschylus is the only one from the ancient stage of which all the parts have come down to us.

opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride." The poet teaches that "no mortal may dare raise his heart too high," — that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart."

Sophocles (about 496–405 B.C.) while yet a youth gained the prize in a poetic contest with Æschylus (468 B.C.). Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. Sophocles now became the leader of tragedy at Athens. He lived through nearly a century, — a century, too, that comprised the most brilliant period of the life of Hellas. His dramas were perfect works of art.

The central idea of his dramas is the same as that which characterizes those of Æschylus, namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus. The chief works of Sophocles are *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, and *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon the old tales of the prehistoric royal line of Thebes.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) was a more popular dramatist than either Æschylus or Sophocles. Æschylus was too lofty, severe, and earnest a poet to be long a favorite with the volatile and pleasure-loving Athenians. They tired of him as they did of Aristides. Nor was Sophocles sensational enough to please them, after the state of exalted religious feeling awakened by the tremendous experiences of the Persian Wars had passed away. Euripides was a better representative than either of these of the Athenian in his normal mood.

The fame of Euripides passed far beyond the limits of Greece. It is asserted that the verses of the poet were recited by the

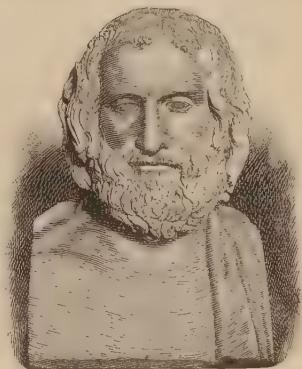


FIG. 114. — EURIPIDES
(Vatican, Rome)

natives of the remote country of Gedrosia ; and Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters such of his verses as they could repeat from memory.

338. Comedy : Aristophanes. — Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 450–385 B.C.). He introduces us to the everyday life of the least admirable classes of Athenian society. Four of his most noted works are the *Clouds*, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Wasps*.

In the comedy of the *Clouds*, Aristophanes especially ridicules the Sophists, a school of philosophers and teachers just then rising into prominence at Athens, of whom the satirist unfairly makes Socrates the representative.

The aim of the *Knights* was the punishment and ruin of Cleon, whom we already know as one of the most conceited and insolent of the demagogues of Athens.

The play of the *Birds* is “the everlasting allegory of foolish sham and flimsy ambition.” But while having a general application, it was aimed particularly at the ambitious Sicilian schemes of Alcibiades ; for at the time the play appeared, the Athenian army was before Syracuse, and elated by the good news daily arriving, the Athenians were building the most gorgeous air castles, and indulging in the most extravagant day dreams of universal dominion.

In the *Wasps* the poet satirizes the proceedings in the Athenian law courts.⁴

History and Historians

Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until two centuries or more after the composition of the Homeric poems, that is about the sixth century B.C., that prose writing appeared among

⁴ Menander (342–292 B.C.) was, after Aristophanes, the most noted of Greek comic poets. He was the leader of what is known as the New Comedy. His plays were very popular with the Romans.

the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We can speak briefly of only three historians — Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon — whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued and carefully studied by ourselves.

339. Herodotus. — Herodotus (about 484–425 B.C.), born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the “Father of History.” He traveled over much of the then known world, visiting Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia, and described as an eyewitness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller. To him we are indebted for a large part of the tales of antiquity, — stories of men and events which we never tire of repeating. He was overcredulous, and was often imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw.

The central theme of his great History is the Persian Wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece. Around this he groups the several stories of the nations of antiquity. In the pictures which the artist historian draws, we see vividly contrasted, as in no other writings, the East and the West, Persia and Hellas.

The fundamental idea of the whole history, the conception which shapes and colors the main narrative, is the same as that which inspires the tragedies of Æschylus, — the doctrine of Nemesis. Possessed by this idea, the historian becomes a dramatist, and his history a world tragedy. In the moral lesson it teaches, it is practically an expansion of the Æschylean drama of *The Persians*.

340. Thucydides. — Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more

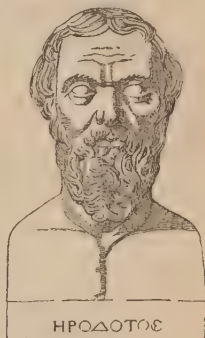


FIG. 115. — HERODOTUS
(National Museum, Naples)

philosophical writer. He was born near Athens. He held a command during the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War, but having incurred the displeasure of the Athenians he was sent into the exile which afforded him leisure to compose his history of that great struggle. Through the closest observation and study,

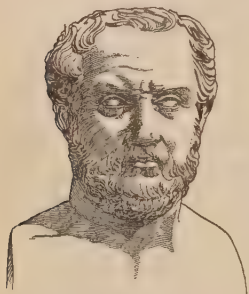


FIG. 116. — THUCYDIDES
(National Museum, Naples)

he qualified himself to become the historian of what he from the first foresaw would prove a memorable war.

Thucydides died before his task was completed.⁵ His work is considered a model of historical writing. Demosthenes read and reread his writings to improve his own style; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

341. Xenophon. — Xenophon (about 445–355 B.C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sec. 259), and his *Memorabilia*, or “Recollections” of Socrates. This work by his devoted yet by no means brilliant pupil is the most faithful portraiture that we possess of that philosopher.

Xenophon’s *Cyropædia*, or “Education of Cyrus,” is essentially an historical romance, which portrays not alone the youth, but the whole life of Cyrus the Great, besides delineating the manners and institutions of the Persians.

Oratory

342. Influence of Democratic Institutions. — The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the generally democratic character of their institutions. In the public assemblies of the free cities all questions that concerned the state were

⁵ His history breaks off abruptly in the twenty-first year of the war. The *Hellenica* of Xenophon forms a continuation of the interrupted narrative.

discussed and decided. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure preëminence, and conferred a certain leadership in the affairs of state. The great jury courts of Athens (sec. 229) were also schools of oratory; for every citizen there was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case. Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection attained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion. Almost all the prominent Athenian statesmen were masters of oratory.

343. Demosthenes. — It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence.⁶ The labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides of the path to success.

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the state, the Athenians awarded to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines, along with other enemies of the orator, attacked this measure of the assembly and brought the matter to a trial. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens, as we have seen, was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes made the grandest effort of his life. His address, known as the *Oration on the Crown*, has been declared to be “the most polished and powerful effort of human oratory.” It was an unanswerable defense by Demosthenes of his whole policy of opposition to Philip of Macedon, and of his counsel to the Athenians to try doubtful battle with him on the fatal field of Chæronea (sec. 282). The refrain that runs through all the speech is this: It is better to have fought at Chæronea and to have left our dead on the lost field, than never to have undertaken battle in defense of the

⁶ Lysias (458–?378 B.C.), Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), and Isæus (b. about 420 B.C.) were all noted representatives of the art of political or forensic oratory, and fore-runners of Demosthenes. We should call Isocrates a rhetorician instead of an orator, as his discourses (which for the most part were written for others to deliver) were intended to be read rather than spoken. The Roman Cicero was his debtor and imitator.

liberties of Hellas. It was ours to do our duty, the issue rested with the gods.⁷ Æschines was completely crushed. He left Athens and became a teacher of oratory at Rhodes.

Respecting the several orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, and the death of the eloquent patriot, we have already spoken (secs. 280 and 304).

IV. THE ALEXANDRIAN AGE (300-146 B.C.)

344. Character of the Literature. — The Alexandrian period of Greek literature embraces the time between the break-up of Alexander's empire and the conquest of Greece by Rome (300-146 B.C.). During this period Alexandria in Egypt was the center of literary activity, hence the term "Alexandrian," applied to the literature of the age. The great Museum and Library of the Ptolemies afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in no other city in the world.

But the creative age of Greek literature was over. With the loss of political liberty and the decay of faith in the old religion, literature was cut off from its sources of inspiration. Consequently the Alexandrian literature lacked freshness and originality. It was imitative, critical, and learned. The writers of the period were grammarians, commentators, and translators, — in a word, bookworms.

345. Works and Writers. — One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the Old Testament of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek. From the traditional number of translators (seventy) the version is known as the *Septuagint*. This great work, as we have seen (sec. 306), was carried on under the direction and patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

It was also during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus that Manetho wrote, from the monuments, his history of Egypt (sec. 23). Just about the same time Berosus compiled, for one of the

⁷ It should be borne in mind that the oration was given in the year 330 B.C., when the Macedonian power was supreme, with Alexander lord of both the East and the West.

Seleucidæ, the chronicles of Chaldea. We possess only fragments of these works, but these have a high historical value.

Among the poets of the period one name, and only one, stands out clear and preëminent. This is that of Theocritus, a Sicilian poet, who wrote at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. His idyls are beautiful pictures of Sicilian pastoral life.

346. Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers. — After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman Period (146 B.C.—527 A.D.).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (about 203–121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though the larger part of it has reached us in a mutilated state, is of great worth; for Polybius wrote of matters that had become history in his own day. He had lived to see the greater part of the world he knew absorbed by the ever-growing power of the Imperial City.

Diodorus Siculus (lived under Augustus Cæsar at Rome) was the author of a general history of the world. Herodotus had grouped all his material about the struggle between Greece and Persia, but Diodorus makes Rome the center of the whole story. Already men were coming to regard Rome as the preordained head and ruler of the world.

Plutarch (b. about A.D. 40), “the prince of biographers,” will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek and Roman statesmen and soldiers. The motive that led Plutarch to write the book, as we may infer from the partiality which he displays for his Greek heroes, was a desire to let the world know that Hellas had once bred men the peers of the best men that Rome had ever brought forth.

Selections from the Sources. — SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, 440–470; defense of Antigone to Creon. HOMER, *Iliad*, vi. 370–481; the parting of Andromache and Hector. ÆSCHYLUS, *Prometheus Bound*, 342–378; the lament of Prometheus.

References (Modern). — LEAF, *Companion to the Iliad*; maintains that the *Iliad* is a growth from a single poem, added to from time to time by many hands. LANG, *Homer and the Epic*; supports the theory of the single authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. JEBB, *Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and Odyssey*; *The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*; *Primer of Greek Literature*; and *Attic Orators*, 2 vols. CHURCH, *Stories from the Greek Tragedians*. RAWLINSON, *Herodotus*, vol. i, pp. 1-114; for a very interesting sketch of the life of Herodotus and his merits and defects as an historian. FELTON, *Greece, Ancient and Modern*, vol. i, pp. 3-267; on the Greek Language and Poetry; vol. ii, pp. 111-246: six lectures on the orators of Greece. MACAULAY, *Essay on the Athenian Orators*. MAHAFFY, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, 2 vols. JEVONS, *History of Greek Literature*. MÜLLER and DONALDSON, *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, 2 vols. MURRAY, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*. CAPP, *Manual of Greek Literature from Homer to Theocritus*. BARNETT, *The Greek Drama* (Primer). WRIGHT, *Masterpieces of Greek Literature*. MOULTON, *Ancient Classical Drama*; for teachers. DONALDSON, *The Theatre of the Greeks*; a treatise on the history and exhibition of the Greek drama. SYMONDS, *Studies of the Greek Poets*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The *Antigone*. 2. The orators Lysias and Isocrates. 3. The Odes of Pindar. 4. The idea of Fate in the Greek drama.

CHAPTER XXX

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

347. The Seven Sages; the Forerunners. — About the sixth century B.C. there lived in different parts of Hellas many persons of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the Seven Sages, who held the place of preëminence.¹ To them belongs the distinction of having first aroused the Greek intellect to philosophical thought. The wise sayings — such as “Know thyself” and “Nothing in excess” — attributed to them are beyond number.

While the maxims and proverbs ascribed to the sages, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, they do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

348. The Ionic Natural Philosophers; Thales. — The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginnings. The founder of the school was Thales of Miletus² (b. about 640 B.C.), the “father of Greek philosophy.”

Thales visited Egypt, and it is probable that what he learned there formed the basis of his work in geometry and astronomy. He is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by means of their shadows. Legend also credits him with having predicted an eclipse of the sun.

Thales taught, as did the other Ionic philosophers, that there are four elements, earth, water, air, and fire.³ Out of these four

¹ As in the case of the Seven Wonders of the world, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men.

² Other members of the school were Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus.

³ These four elements answer to the seventy or more elements of modern science.

elements all things in heaven and earth were supposed to be made. But there was a difference of opinion as to which of the four elements was the original principle, — that is, the one from which all the others were derived ; for the Greek mind could not rest until it had found unity. Thales believed water to be the original element.

349. Pythagoras. — Pythagoras (about 580–500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of the “Samian sage.” The most of his later years were passed at Croton, in Southern Italy, where he became the founder of a celebrated brotherhood or association.

Somehow the personality of Pythagoras deeply impressed the imagination of a later age, and he became the subject of a myth or legend. The legend avers that he visited Egypt and other lands of the Orient, and thus became versed in all the wisdom of the East. It represents him later in the midst of his disciples at Croton, eliciting admiration and reverence through studied peculiarities of dress and manner. It tells how his pupils, in the first years of their novitiate, were never allowed to look upon their master ; how they listened to his lectures from behind a curtain ; and how in debate they used no other argument than the words *Ipse dixit*, “he himself said so.” It is to Pythagoras, according to the legend, that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a “philosopher,” that is, a “lover of wisdom.”

In astronomy the Pythagoreans — it is impossible to separate the teachings of Pythagoras himself from those of his disciples — held views which anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus and his school. They taught that the earth is a sphere, and that it, together with the other planets, revolves about a central globe of fire, “the hearth or altar of the universe.”

From the Pythagorean school comes the pretty conceit of the “music of the spheres.” They imagined that the heavenly bodies were arranged in space at such intervals from each other as to form a sort of musical scale, and that by their swift motion they produced harmonious notes. This celestial melody, however, was too refined for mortal ears.

The Pythagoreans were reformers as well as philosophers. Their zeal in reforming society and the state involved them in the political contentions of the time, and this resulted at last in the disruption of the brotherhood. But the doctrines of the school lived on long after the break-up of the Italian association and exercised a great influence upon later systems of thought.

350. Empedocles and Democritus. — In the teachings of Empedocles (about 492–432 B.C.) and Democritus (about 460–370 B.C.) we meet with many speculations respecting the constitution of matter and the origin of things which are startlingly similar to some of the doctrines held by modern scientists. Empedocles has been called “the father of the evolution idea.” Like the evolutionists of to-day, he taught that the higher forms of life arise out of the lower. Democritus, like modern physicists, conceived all things to be composed of invisible atoms, all alike in quality but differing in form and combination.

351. Anaxagoras. — Anaxagoras (500–?427 B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *mind* (*voûs*), instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. “Reason rules the world” was his first maxim. This proposition marks a turning point in Greek philosophy. It based it upon the same fundamental conception as that upon which the Hebrew philosophy of the world rested, and prepared the way for the union of these two systems of thought four centuries later at Alexandria.

Anaxagoras was the teacher in philosophy of Pericles, and it is certain that that statesman was greatly influenced by the liberal views of the philosopher; for in his general conceptions of the universe, Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He ventured to believe that the moon was somewhat like the earth, and inhabited; and taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as the Peloponnesus.

But for his temerity the philosopher suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the composure of his mind. In banishment he said, “It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me.”

352. The Sophists. — The philosophers of whom we have thus far spoken were in general men who made the physical universe the subject of their speculations. Their systems of thought possessed little or no practical value. They did not supply motives for right living, having no word for the citizen in regard to his duties godward or manward.

About the middle of the fifth century, however, there appeared in Greece a new class of philosophers, or rather teachers, called Sophists.⁴ They abandoned in despair the attempt of their predecessors to solve the problems of the physical world,⁵ and devoted themselves to civic matters and to giving instruction in rhetoric and the art of disputation.

They traveled about from city to city, and, contrary to the usual custom of the Greek philosophers, took fees from their pupils. For about one hundred years after the middle of the fifth century, these men were the most popular and prominent educators in Greece. Notwithstanding their professions, they were in general teachers of superficial knowledge, who cared more for the dress in which the thought was arrayed than for the thought itself, more for victory than for truth. The better philosophers of the time despised them, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason."

353. Socrates. — Volumes would not contain all that would be both instructive and interesting respecting the teachings and speculations of the three great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We can, however, accord to each only a few words. Of these three eminent thinkers, Socrates (469–399 B.C.), though surpassed in grasp of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was

⁴ The most noted of the Sophists were Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus.

⁵ Not until the rise of modern science in the sixteenth century were physical phenomena again to absorb so much attention as they did in the earlier schools of Hellas.

ugly as a satyr's, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. His figure is said to have been the most ungainly, and therefore the most familiar, of any upon the streets of Athens. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then to draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His method was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. In the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils.⁶

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being, "Know thyself"; hence he is said to have brought philosophy from the heavens and introduced it to the homes of men.

Socrates taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known, and which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He thought himself to be restrained by a guardian spirit from entering upon what was inexpedient or wrong. He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, but sometimes spoke slightly of the temples and the popular deities. Of his prosecution and condemnation to death on the charge of impiety, and of his last hours with his devoted disciples, we have already spoken (sec. 260).

354. Plato. — Plato (427-347 B.C.), "the broad-browed," was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects

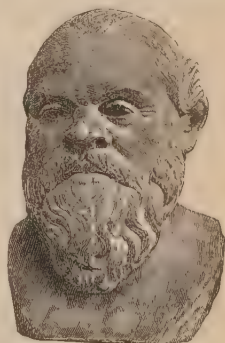


FIG. 117. — SOCRATES
(National Museum,
Naples)

⁶ Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband, whose life at home she at times made very uncomfortable. Her name has been handed down as "the synonym of the typical scold."

in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In foreign lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences (secs. 273 and 274). He finally returned to Athens and established a school of philosophy in the Academy. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life — he died 347 B.C., at the age of eighty-one

years — laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.



FIG. 118. — PLATO
(National Museum, Naples)

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates' method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches; yet his writings are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state.

The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples, — an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (postexistence), but also in preëxistence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience.⁷ Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought

⁷ In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of preëxistence :

" Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting ;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar :
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home."— *Ode on Immortality*.

to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible ; and to become like Him is to become holy and just and wise."

355. Aristotle. — As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hellenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira, and hence is frequently called the "Stagirite."

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle accepted the invitation of Philip II of Macedon to become the preceptor of his son, the young prince Alexander (sec. 285). In after years Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, aided him in his scientific studies by sending him collections of plants and animals gathered on his distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher delivered his lectures while walking about beneath the trees and porticoes of the Lyceum ; hence the term "*peripatetic*" (from the Greek *peripatein*, "to walk about") applied to his philosophy.

Among the productions of his fertile intellect are works on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic



FIG. 119. — ARISTOTLE
(Spada Palace, Rome)

sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

356. Zeno and the Stoics.—We are now approaching the period when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this intellectual people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Roman world.

From among all the philosophers of this long period we can select for brief mention only a few. And first we shall speak of Zeno and Epicurus, who are noted as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and the conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics, lived in the third century before our era (about 340–265 B.C.). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek, *stoa*), from which circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples.

The Stoical philosophy was the outgrowth, in part at least, of that of the Cynics, a sect of most rigid and austere morals. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a wine cask (*πίθος*), and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits.

Zeno adopted all that was good in the code of the Cynics, and, adding to this everything that he found of value in the systems of other philosophers, formed therefrom his new philosophy. It became a favorite system of thought with certain classes of the Romans, and under its teachings and doctrines were nourished some of the purest and loftiest characters produced by the pagan world (sec. 575). In many of its teachings it anticipated Christian doctrines, and was, in the philosophical world, a very important preparation for Christianity.

The Stoics inculcated virtue for the sake of itself. They believed—and it would be very difficult to frame a better creed

— that “man’s chief business here is to do his duty.” Bodily pain, they taught, was a matter of no moment; and they schooled themselves to bear with composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly and unphilosophical. Thus a certain Stoic, when told of the sudden death of his son, is said merely to have remarked, “Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal.”

357. Epicurus and the Epicureans. — Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), who was a contemporary of Zeno, taught, in opposition to the Stoics, that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, “Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness”; Zeno said, “Be virtuous, because you ought to be.”

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the corrupt and licentious period of the Roman Empire. Many of these disciples carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. Allowing full indulgence to every appetite and passion, their whole philosophy was expressed in the proverb, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.”

358. The Skeptics: Pyrrho. — About the beginning of the third century B.C. skepticism became widespread in Greece. It seemed as though men were losing faith in everything. Many circumstances had worked together to bring about this state of universal unbelief. A wider knowledge of the world had caused many to lose their faith in the stories and legends of the old mythologies. The existence of so many systems of philosophy caused men to doubt the truth of any of them. The conquests of Alexander, by bringing the Greek mind in contact with the strange Asiatic systems of belief, tended powerfully to deepen and confirm this feeling of bewilderment and uncertainty. Many thoughtful minds were hopelessly asking, “What is truth?”

Pyrrho (about 365–275 B.C.) was the “doubting Thomas” of the Greeks. He doubted everything, and declared that the great problems of the universe could not be solved. It was the duty of man and the part of wisdom to entertain no positive judgment on any matter, and thus to insure serenity and peace of mind.

The disciples of Pyrrho went to absurd lengths in their skepticism, some of them even saying that they asserted nothing, not even that they asserted nothing. They doubted whether they doubted.

359. The Neoplatonists. — Neoplatonism was a blending of Greek philosophy and Oriental religious feeling. Its representatives were at one and the same time Greek thinkers and Hebrew seers. The center of this last movement in Greek philosophical thought was Alexandria in Egypt, the meeting place, in the closing centuries of the ancient world, of the East and the West.

While the Neoplatonists were laboring to restore, in modified form, the ancient Greek philosophy and worship, the teachers of Christianity were fast winning the world over to a new faith. The two systems came into deadly conflict. Christianity triumphed. With the triumph of the Christian Fathers the work of the Greek philosophers, as living personal teachers, was ended; but their systems of thought will never cease to attract and influence the best minds of the race.



Science among the Greeks

The contributions of the Greek observers to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers were careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. The great philosopher Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences, basing their labors upon what had already been achieved by the Egyptians and the Chaldeans.

360. Mathematics: Euclid and Archimedes. — Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Soter, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools to-day. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry."

In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced. His knowledge of the laws of the lever is indicated by the oft-quoted boast that he made to Hiero: "Give me a place to stand, and I will move the world."

361. Astronomy and Geography. — Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers the names of Aristarchus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Strabo, Pausanias, and Claudius Ptolemy are distinguished.

Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center, and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Eratosthenes (b. about 276 B.C.) might be called an astronomical geographer. His greatest achievement was the fairly accurate determination of the circumference of the earth by means of the different lengths of the shadow cast by the midday sun in Upper and in Lower Egypt at the time of the summer solstice.

Hipparchus, who flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., was, through his careful observations, the real founder of scientific astronomy. He calculated eclipses, observed the precession of the equinoxes, catalogued the stars, and wrote several astronomical works of a really scientific character.

Strabo was born about half a century before our era. He traveled over a large part of the world, and describes, as an eyewitness, the scenery, the productions, and the peoples of all the countries known to the ancients.

About two centuries after Strabo's time, Pausanias wrote his *Tour of Greece*, a sort of guidebook, which is crowded with invaluable little items of interest respecting all the places best worth visiting in Greece.

Claudius Ptolemy lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. His great reputation is due not so much to his superior genius as to the fortunate circumstance that a vast work⁸ compiled by him preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects. In this way it has happened that his name has become attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these probably were not originated by him. The phrase "Ptolemaic System," however, links his name inseparably, whether the honor be fairly his or not, with that conception of the solar system set forth in his works, which continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus, fourteen centuries later.

Ptolemy combated the theory of Aristarchus in regard to the rotation and revolution of the earth; yet he believed the earth to be a globe, and supported this view by exactly the same arguments that we to-day use to prove the doctrine.

362. Medicine and Anatomy. — Hippocrates (b. about 460 B.C.) did so much to emancipate the art of healing from superstition and ignorance, and to make it a scientific study, that he is called the "Father of Medicine." His central doctrine was that there are laws of disease as well as laws of healthy life. The works ascribed to him form the basis of modern medical science.⁹

The advance of the science of anatomy among the ancient Greeks was hindered by their feelings respecting the body, which caused them to look with horror upon its deliberate mutilation. Surprising as the statement may appear, it is nevertheless true that Aristotle, "the greatest of all thinkers in antiquity, the son

⁸ Known to mediæval Europe by its Arabian title *Almagest*, meaning "the greatest."

⁹ The most noted Greek physician after Hippocrates was Galenus Claudius, or simply Galen (about A.D. 130–193). He wrote a multitude of books, which gathered up all the medical and anatomical knowledge of his time, and which were greatly prized and carefully studied by the medical students of the Middle Ages.

of a physician, especially educated in physical science, and well acquainted for the time with the dissection of animals, regarded the brain as a lump of cold substance, quite unfit to be the seat and organ of the *sensus communis*.¹⁰ This important office he ascribed rather to the heart. The brain he considered to be chiefly useful as the source of fluids for lubricating the eyes, etc.”¹¹ At Alexandria, however, in the later period, under the influence doubtless of Egyptian practices in embalming, the Greek physicians greatly promoted the knowledge of anatomy not only by the dissection of dead bodies but even by the vivisection of criminals condemned to death.¹²

Selections from the Sources.—PLATO, *Republic*, ii. 379 and 380, on God as the author of good; and *Phædo*, on immortality.

References (Modern).—GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 65-94; Ionic Philosophers and Pythagoras; vol. vii, pp. 32-172; the Sophists and Socrates. OSBORN, *From the Greeks to Darwin*, pp. 29-68; traces the development of the idea of evolution among the Greek philosophers. BURT, *A Brief History of Greek Philosophy*. MARSHALL, *A Short History of Greek Philosophy*. FERRIER, *Lectures on Greek Philosophy*. MAYOR, *Sketch of Ancient Philosophy*. TURNER, *History of Philosophy*, chaps. i-xx. LEWES, *Biographical History of Philosophy* (first part). DAVIDSON, *The Education of the Greek People*, chap. v; on the teaching of Socrates. TOY, *Judaism and Christianity*. PATER, *Plato and Platonism*; and ZELLER, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, may be taken up by the teacher.

Topics for Special Study.—1. The Sophists. 2. Plato's *Republic*. 3. The Stoics. 4. The trial and condemnation of Socrates. 5. Neoplatonism in Alexandria.

¹⁰ The thinking faculty, the mind.

¹¹ Ladd's *Elements of Physiological Psychology* (1887), p. 240.

¹² Some practices among the Greek physicians strike us as peculiar. The following is too characteristically Greek to be omitted. Plato, in the *Gorgias*, tells us that sometimes the doctor took a Sophist along with him to persuade the patient to take his prescription. Professor Mahaffy comments thus upon this practice: "This was done because it was the fashion to discuss everything in Greece, and people were not satisfied to submit silently to anybody's prescription, either in law, politics, religion, or medicine."

CHAPTER XXXI

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS

363. Education. — Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair (sec. 158); but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These schools were of all grades, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in

the Athenian Academy and Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

It was only the boys who received education. These Grecian boys, Professor Mahaffy imagines, were "the



FIG. 120. — A GREEK SCHOOL
(From a vase painting)

most attractive the world has ever seen." At all events, we may believe that they were trained more carefully and delicately than the youth among any other people before or since the days of Hellenic culture.

In the nursery the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.¹ At about seven

¹ At the birth of a child, many customs of a significant character were carefully observed. Thus at Sparta the new-born infant was first cradled on a shield, which symbolized the martial life of the Spartan citizen; while at Athens the child was laid upon a mantle in which was wrought the ægis of Athena, by which act was emblemized and invoked the protection of that patron goddess. Infanticide was almost universally practiced throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle

he entered school, being led to and from the place of training by an old slave, who bore the name of "pedagogue," which in Greek means a guide or leader of boys — not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music, and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertainments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battlefield. The exercises of the palestræ and the gymnasia trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle struggles in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

Upon reaching maturity the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious processions, the representations of an unrivaled stage, the Panhellenic games, — all these were splendid and efficient educational agencies, which produced and maintained a standard of average intelligence and culture among the citizens of the Greek cities that probably has never been attained among any other people on the earth. Freeman, quoted approvingly by Mahaffy, says that "the average intelligence of the assembled

saw nothing in the custom to condemn. Among the Spartans, as we have already learned (sec. 158), the state determined what infants might be preserved, condemning the weakly or ill-formed to be cast out to die. At Athens and in other states the right to expose his child was given to the father. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas, all turning upon points afforded by this common practice. The career of Sargon of Agade, of Cyrus the Great of Persia, of the Hebrew Moses, of Œdipus of Thebes, of Romulus and Remus of Roman legend, and a hundred others, are all prefaced by the same story of exposure and fortunate rescue.

Athenian citizens was higher than that of our [the English] House of Commons."

364. Social Position of Woman. — Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraiture of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman, which Symonds regards as "the greatest social blot upon the brilliant but imperfect civilization of the Greeks." Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb, "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether for good or for evil."

This unworthy conception of woman of course consigned her to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between Oriental seclusion and modern or Western freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was practically one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, she was accorded unusual freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

The low position generally assigned the wife in the home had a most disastrous effect upon Greek morals. She could exert no such elevating or refining influence as she exercises in the modern home. The men were led to seek social and intellectual sympathy and companionship outside the family circle, among a class of talented and often highly cultured women known as *Hetæræ*.

As the most noted and brilliant representative of this class stands *Aspasia*, the friend of *Pericles*. Her conversation possessed attraction for the most prominent and accomplished men of Athens, such persons as *Socrates* and *Anaxagoras* often assembling at her house. Yet the influence of this class was most harmful to social morality, so that to the degradation of woman in the home may be traced the source of the most serious stain that rests upon Greek civilization.

365. Friendship among the Greeks. — From speaking of the inferior rank assigned woman in the Greek home, we are led by

a natural transition to speak of Greek friendship between men. While it seems quite certain that that romantic sentiment to which we give distinctively the name of love was not the same universal and absorbing passion among the Greeks that it is among modern civilized peoples, it is equally certain that the ancient Greeks possessed a capacity for friendship between man and man such as is rarely or never seen among the men of modern times. It would scarcely be incorrect to say that the Greek men "fell in love" with each other. An ardent and romantic attachment sprang up between companions, which possessed all the higher elements of that chivalrous sentiment which the modern man seems capable of entertaining only for one of the opposite sex.

Greek literature and history afford innumerable instances of this wonderful and happy capacity of the Greeks for friendship. The memory easily recalls the Homeric picture of the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus; the attachment, stronger than death, between Damon and Pythias; the friendship of the patriot heroes Pelopidas and Epaminondas, and of Alexander and Hephæstion.

366. Theatrical Entertainments. — Among the ancient Greeks the theater was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution." This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (sec. 334), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, being religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals, — certain festivals observed in honor of Dionysus, — and were attended by all classes, rich and poor, men, women, and children. The women, however, except the *Hetærae*, were, it would seem, permitted to witness tragedies only; the comic stage was too gross to allow of their presence.

The upper ranges of seats in the theater were reserved for the women; the chairs bordering the orchestra were for the officers of the state and other persons of distinction; while the intervening tiers of seats were occupied by the general audience. The spectators sat under the open sky; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till nightfall.

While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents a parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also the performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor, and assisted in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theater, were taken by men.

The stage machinery of the Greek theater and the costumes of the actors were ingenious and elaborate. There were movable scenes; trapdoors and various machines for introducing the infernal and celestial divinities and swinging them through the air; contrivances for imitating all the familiar sounds of the country, the roar and crash of storm and thunder, and all the noises that are counterfeited on the modern stage. The tragic actor increased his height and size by wearing thick-soled buskins, an enormous mask, and padded garments. The actor in comedy wore thin-soled slippers, or socks. The sock being thus a characteristic part of the make-up of the ancient comic actor, and the buskin that of the tragic actor, these foot coverings have come to be used as the symbols respectively of comedy and tragedy, as in the familiar lines of Dryden :

Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear.

The theater exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and the heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people; and later, when with the Macedonian the days of decline came, the stage was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek literary culture over the world. Theaters arose everywhere, and it was chiefly through the popular representations of the stage that

a knowledge of the best productions of Greek literature was imparted to the mixed population of the Hellenic cities of Egypt and Western Asia, and to the inhabitants of the cities of Italy as well.

367. Banquets and Symposia. — Banquets and drinking parties among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainments among other people.

The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guests in a reclining position, upon couches or divans arranged about the table in the Oriental manner. After the usual courses a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the "symposium."



FIG. 121. — A BANQUET SCENE

The symposium was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, riddles, and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Generally professional singers and musicians, dancing girls, jugglers, and jesters were called in to contribute to the merrymaking. All the while the wine bowl circulated freely, the rule being that a man might drink "as much as he could carry home without a guide, — unless he were far gone in years." Here also the Greeks applied their maxim, "Never too much." Besotted drunkenness, though by no means unknown in Greece, was always regarded as a most disgraceful thing.

The banqueters usually consumed the night in merrymaking, sometimes being broken in upon from the street by other bands of revelers, who made themselves self-invited guests.

The symposium must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his

Banquet and Plato in his *Symposium* have each left us a striking report of such an entertainment.

368. **Occupations.** — The enormous body of slaves in ancient Greece relieved the free population from most of those forms of labor classed as drudgery. The æsthetic Greek regarded as degrading any kind of manual labor that marred the symmetry or beauty of the body.

At Sparta, and in other states where oligarchical constitutions prevailed, the citizens formed a sort of military caste, strikingly similar to the military aristocracy of feudal Europe. Their chief occupation, as has already appeared, was martial and gymnastic exercises and the administration of public affairs. The Spartans, it will be recalled, were forbidden by law to engage in trade. In other aristocratic states, as at Thebes, a man by engaging in trade disqualified himself for full citizenship.

In the democratic states, however, speaking generally, labor and trade were regarded with less contempt. A considerable portion of the citizens were traders, artisans, and farmers.

Life at Athens presented some peculiar features. All Attica being included in what we should term the corporate limits of the city, the roll of Athenian citizens included a large body of well-to-do farmers, whose residence was outside the city walls. The Attic plains and the slopes of the encircling hills were dotted with beautiful villas and inviting farmhouses.

And then Athens being the head of a great empire of subject cities, a large number of Athenian citizens were necessarily employed as salaried officials in the minor positions of the public service, and thus politics became a profession. In any event, the meetings of the popular assembly and the discussion of matters of state engrossed more or less of the time and attention of every citizen.

Again, the great Athenian jury courts (sec. 229), which were busied with cases from all parts of the empire, gave constant employment to nearly one fourth of the citizens, the fee that the juryman received enabling him to live, if he lived narrowly, without other business. It is said that, in the early morning, when

the jurymen were passing through the streets to the different courts, Athens appeared like a city wholly given up to the single business of law. Furthermore, the great public works, such as temples and commemorative monuments, which were in constant process of erection, afforded employment for a vast number of artists and skilled workmen of every class.

In the Agora, again, at any time of the day, a numerous class might have been found, whose sole occupation, as in the case of Socrates, was to talk. The writer of the *Acts of the Apostles* was so impressed with this feature of life at Athens that he summarized the habits of the people by saying, "All the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing."

369. Slavery. — There is a dark side to Greek life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement — "these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery."

Slaves were very numerous in Greece. No exact estimate can be made of their number, but it is believed that they greatly outnumbered the free population. Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves.

This large class of slaves was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times, the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude; while foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the Greek as being not only a legal but a natural one. A free community, in his view, could not exist without slavery. It formed the natural basis of both the family and the state, the relation of master and slave being regarded as "strictly analogous to the relation of soul and body." Even Aristotle and other Greek

philosophers approved the maxim that "slaves were simply domestic animals possessed of intelligence."² They were considered just as necessary in the economy of the family as cooking utensils.

In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly, judging their treatment by the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family, and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master. Yet at Sparta, where slavery assumed the form of serfdom, the lot of the slave was peculiarly hard and unendurable.

If ever slavery was justified by its fruits, it was in Greece. The brilliant civilization of the Greeks was its product, and could never have existed without it. As one truthfully says, "Without the slaves the Attic democracy would have been an impossibility, for they alone enabled the poor, as well as the rich, to take a part in public affairs." Relieving the citizen of all drudgery, the system created a class characterized by elegant leisure, refinement, and culture.

We find an almost exact historical parallel to all this in the feudal aristocracy of mediæval Europe. Such a society has been well likened to a great pyramid whose top may be gilded with light while its base lies in dark shadows. The civilization of ancient Hellas was splendid and attractive, but it rested with a crushing weight upon all the lower orders of Greek society.

² This harsh, selfish theory, it should be noted, was somewhat modified and relaxed when the slave class, through the numerous captives of the unfortunate civil wars, came to be made up in considerable part of cultured Greeks, instead of being, as was the case in earlier times, composed almost exclusively of barbarians, or of inferior branches of the Hellenic race, between whom and their cultured masters there was the same difference in mental qualities as existed between the negro slaves and their masters in our own country. The sentiment that a slave was an unfortunate person, rather than an inferior being, came to prevail, — a sentiment which aided powerfully in preparing the way for the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of *man*.

Selections from the Sources. — ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, viii; on education. XENOPHON, *Symposium*, i and iv.

References (Modern). — BLÜMNER, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*. DAVIDSON, *The Education of the Greek People and Ancient Educational Ideals*. MAHAFFY, *Social Life in Greece; Old Greek Education; Greek Life and Thought* (selected chapters); and *Old Greek Life*. FELTON, *Greece, Ancient and Modern*, vol. i, pp. 271-511; pictures various aspects of the life of Greece. GUHL and KONER, *Life of the Greeks and the Romans* (first part). GULICK, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Home life of the Greeks. 2. Greek education. See Monroe's *Source Book in the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*. 3. Daily life in Athens. 4. Greek slavery. 5. Marriage and funeral customs.

Especially noteworthy among recent books of importance to students of Greek home life, education, religion, and culture is Caroline Dale Snedeker's *The Coward of Thermopylae* (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911). This work, while fiction in form, is history in reality. It portrays, with deep sympathy and intimate knowledge, and always with conscientious fidelity to historical facts, Greek customs, life, and thought in the fifth century B.C., that is, in the days of Leonidas and Pindar. (A later title of this book is *The Spartan*.)

PART III—ROME

FIRST PERIOD—ROME AS A KINGDOM

(753?—509 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXXII

ITALY AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

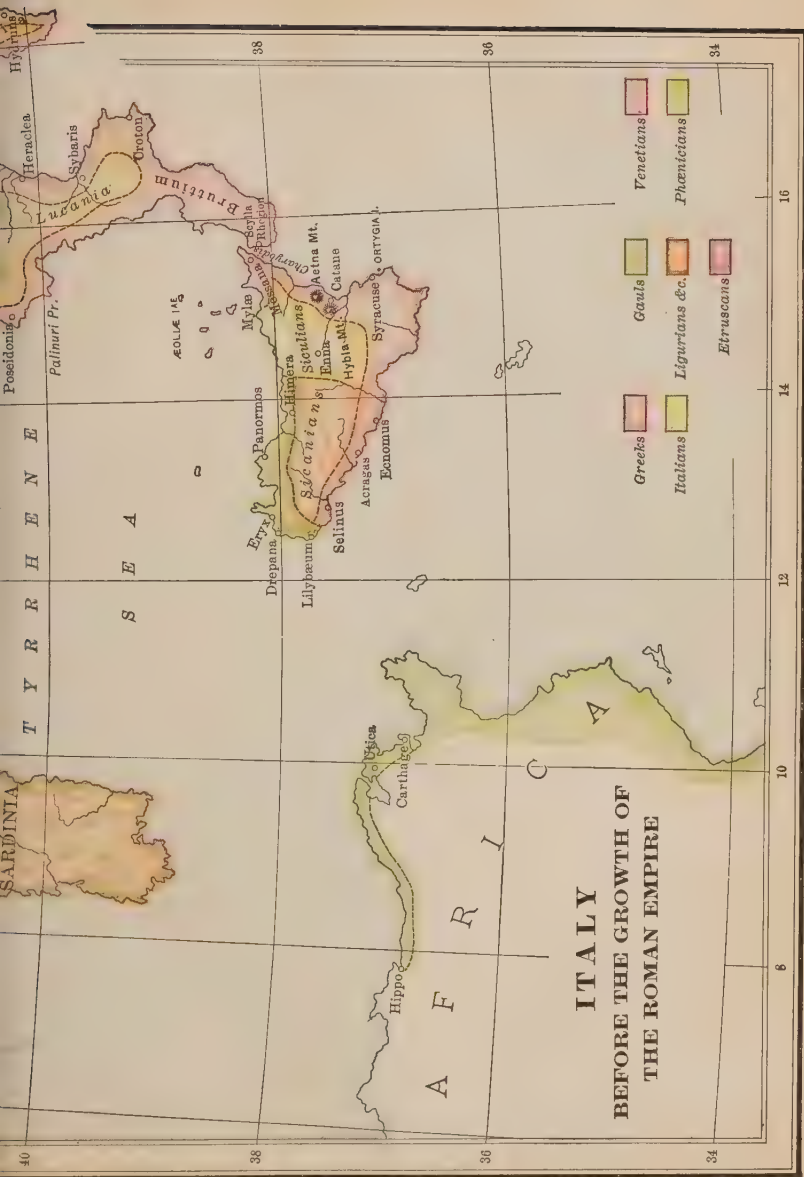
370. Divisions of the Italian Peninsula.—The Italian peninsula is generally conceived as consisting of three sections, — Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the river Po (*Padus*), lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts, namely, Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, and Venetia. Liguria embraced the southwestern and Venetia the northeastern part of Northern Italy. Gallia Cisalpina lay between these two districts, occupying the finest portion of the valley of the Po. It received its name, which means “Gaul on this (the Italian) side of the Alps,” from the Gallic tribes that about the fifth century before our era found their way over the mountains and settled upon these rich lands.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western or Tyrrhenian Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern or Adriatic Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the ancient districts of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria formed the “heel,”¹ and

¹ During the Middle Ages this name was transferred to the toe of the peninsula, and this forms the Calabria of to-day.





Bruttium the "toe," of the bootlike peninsula. The coast region of Southern Italy, as we have already learned, was called *Magna Græcia*, or "Great Greece," on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established on these shores.

The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy, so intimately has its history been connected with that of the peninsula. This island had some such influence upon Roman history as the islands of the Ægean Sea exerted upon the history of Greece. As the islands which stud that sea were, in effect, stepping-stones that drew the inhabitants of continental Greece to the shores of Asia Minor and thus made those lands a part of the Greek world, so was Sicily a stepping-stone that, as we shall learn (sec. 427), enticed the Romans to the African shore, and thus started them on a career of foreign conquest which did not end until their armies had made not only North Africa but all the other Mediterranean lands a part of the empire of Rome.

The great islands of Corsica and Sardinia, lying to the west of Italy, were early taken possession of by the Romans, but they exerted no special influence, as Sicily did, upon the course of their fortunes.

371. Mountains, Rivers, and Harbors. — Italy, like the other two peninsulas of Southern Europe, Greece and Spain, has a high mountain barrier, the Alps, along its northern frontier. Corresponding to the Pindus range in Greece, the Apennines run as a great central ridge through the peninsula. Eastward of the ancient Latium they spread out into broad uplands, which in early times nourished a race of hardy mountaineers, who incessantly harried the territories of the more civilized lowlanders of Latium and Campania. Thus the physical conformation of this part of the peninsula shaped large sections of Roman history, just as in the case of Scotland the physical contrast between the north and the south was reflected for centuries in the antagonisms of highlanders and lowlanders.

Italy has only one really great river, the Po, which drains the large northern plain, already mentioned, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The streams running down the eastern slope of the Apennines are short and of little volume. Among them the Aufidus, the Metaurus, and the Rubicon are connected with great matters of history.² Among the rivers draining the western slopes of the Apennines, the one possessing the greatest historic interest is the Tiber, on the banks of which Rome arose. North



of this stream is the Arno (*Arnus*), which watered a part of the old Etruria, and south of it, the Liris, one of the chief rivers of Campania.

The finest Italian harbors, of which that of Naples is the most celebrated, are on the western coast. The eastern coast is precipitous, with few good havens. Italy thus faces the west. What makes it important for us to notice this circumstance is the fact that Greece faces the east (sec. 124), and that thus these two peninsulas, as the historian Mommsen expresses it, turn their backs

² See secs. 443, 446, and 491.



PLATE XI.—THE NEW-FOUND ETRUSCAN CHARIOT
(From a photograph)

This interesting memorial of Etruscan art has recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York at a cost of \$48,000. It was found in an ancient Etruscan cemetery (1901). Almost every part of the chariot, including the wheels, was sheathed in figured bronze. The relic probably dates from the seventh century B.C.

to each other. This brought it about that Rome and the cities of Greece had almost no dealings with one another for many centuries.

372. Early Inhabitants of Italy: the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. — There were in early times three chief races in Italy, — the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks.³ The Italians, a branch of the Aryan family, embraced two principal stocks, —



FIG. 122.—WALL PAINTING OF AN ETRUSCAN BANQUET

From an Etruscan tomb of the fifth century B.C. This cut illustrates, among other things, the state of art among the Etruscans at that early date. Banqueting scenes are favorite representations on Etruscan tombs, sarcophagi, and funeral urns. The participators "were represented in the height of social enjoyment to symbolize the bliss on which their spirits had entered" (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*)

the Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian (Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, Lucanians, etc.), — the various tribes or nations of which occupied nearly all Central, and a considerable part of Southern, Italy.⁴ Most important of all the Italian peoples were the Latins, who dwelt in Latium, between the Tiber and the Liris. These people, like all the Italians, were near kindred of the Greeks, and brought with them into Italy those customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions that formed the common possession of the various Aryan

³ Besides these principal races there were the Iapygians in Calabria, and the Venetians and the Ligurians in the north of the peninsula. The Ligurians were probably of non-Aryan race, but the others were of Aryan relationship.

⁴ Notice carefully the large area covered by the Italian color on the accompanying map (p. 350). The Italian race formed the best part of the material out of which the real Roman nation was formed.

peoples. Their life was for the most part that of shepherds and farmers. The leading representatives of this branch of the Italians were the Romans, of whose social and religious life and political arrangements we shall come to speak in subsequent chapters.

The Etruscans, a wealthy, cultured, and seafaring people of uncertain race and origin, dwelt in Etruria, now called Tuscany after them.⁵ Before the rise of the Roman people they were the leading race in the peninsula. Certain elements in their culture lead us to believe that they had learned much from the cities of Magna Græcia. The Etruscans in their turn became the teachers of the early Romans and imparted to them at least some minor elements of civilization, including hints in the art of building and various religious ideas and rites.

With the Greek cities in Southern Italy and in Sicily we have already formed an acquaintance. Through the medium of these cultured communities the Romans were taught the use of letters and given valuable suggestions in matters of law and constitutional government.

Selections from the Sources. — CICERO, *On the Commonwealth*, ii. 3-6. DIONYSIUS, *Roman Antiquities*, i. 36 and 37. For additional selections for this and following chapters on the Republic and the early Empire, see Munro's *Source Book of Roman History*. The teacher will find this admirable collection of extracts from the sources an invaluable aid in imparting a sense of life and reality to the story of ancient Rome.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. FREEMAN, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i (text), pp. 7-9 and 43-49. TOZER, *Classical Geography*, chaps. ix and x. MERIVALE, vol. iv, pp. 414-416; for some interesting observations on the evidence afforded by ancient geographical names of the wooded character of the districts about Rome in early times. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. i and ii. SHUCK-BURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. ii and iii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Tutorial History of Rome*, pp. 1-18. DENNIS, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, Introduction. The author probably exaggerates the debt which the early civilization of Rome owed to the preceding culture of Etruria. LELAND, *Etruscan-Roman Remains*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Geographical conditions tending to make the history of Italy different from that of Greece. 2. Etruscan civilization. 3. The debt of Rome to Etruria. 4. Relation to Rome of the Greek colonies in Italy.

⁵ In early times they had settlements in Northern Italy and in Campania.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT OF EARLY ROME

373. **The Roman Family ; the Worship of Ancestors.** — At the bottom of Roman society and forming its smallest unit was the family. This was a very different group from that which among us bears the same name. The typical Roman family consisted of the father (*paterfamilias*) and mother, the sons together with their wives and sons, and the unmarried daughters. When a daughter married she became a member of the family to which her husband belonged.

The most important feature or element of this family group was the authority of the father. His power over each and all of its members was legally absolute. He was the proprietor of the family in almost the same sense that he was the proprietor of its goods and lands. He could sell his wife or his son just as he could sell one of his slaves. He was the sole judge of the members of the family, and could put to death without appeal even a son grown to man's estate.

The father was the high priest of the family, for the family had a common worship. This was the cult of its dead ancestors (the Lares and Penates). The spirits of these were believed to linger near the old hearth. If provided with frequent offerings of meat and drink, they would, it was thought, watch over the living members of the family and aid and prosper them in their daily work and in all their undertakings. If they were neglected, however, these spirits became restless and suffered pain, and in their anger would bring trouble in some form upon their undutiful kinsmen.

It was this worship of ancestors that made the Roman family a religious body, and which caused it to be so exclusive and to close its doors against all strangers ; for the spirits of its dead members could be served only by their own kith and kin. But by

a certain religious ceremony a stranger could be adopted into a family, and thus could acquire the same rights as its members by birth or by marriage to participate in its worship and festivals.

When the father died the sons became free, and each in his own household now came to exercise the full authority that the father had held.

374. Dependents of the Family ; Clients and Slaves. — Besides those members constituting the family proper there were attached to it usually a number of dependents. These were the clients and slaves. The client was a person standing to the head of the family, who was called his patron, in a relation which, in some respects, was like that of the mediæval serf to his lord. He held a position between the slave and the son. The class of clients was probably made up of homeless refugees or strangers from other cities, or of freed slaves dwelling in their former master's house.¹ They were free to engage in business at Rome and to accumulate property, though whatever they gathered was legally the property of the patron.

The duty of the patron was in general to look after the interests of his client, especially to represent him before the legal tribunals. The duty of the client, on the other hand, was faithfulness to his patron, and the making of contributions of money to aid him in meeting unusual expenses.

The slaves constituted merely a part of the family property. There were only a few slaves in the early Roman family, and these were held for service chiefly within the home and not in the fields. They relieved the mother and daughters of the coarser work of the household. It was not until later times, when luxury crept into Rome, that the number of domestic slaves became excessively great (sec. 585).

375. The Place of the Family in Roman History. — Such in briefest outline was the early Roman family. It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of this group upon the history and destiny of Rome. It was the cradle of at least some of those splendid virtues of the early Romans that contributed so much to

¹ The clients of the later republican and imperial periods were as a rule freedmen.

the strength and greatness of Rome, and that helped to give her the dominion of the world.

It was in the atmosphere of the family that were nourished in the Roman youth the virtues of obedience and of deference to authority. When the youth became a citizen, obedience to magistrates and respect for law were with him an instinct and indeed almost a religion. And, on the other hand, the exercise of the parental authority in the family taught the Roman how to command as well as how to obey, — how to exercise authority with wisdom, moderation, and justice.

376. The Clan, the Curia, the Tribe, and the City. — Having gained some idea of the Roman family, we may pass with briefer notice the other larger units or groups in the Roman community, for the reason that each of these larger associations seems to have been modeled upon the family, and consequently repeated many of its characteristic features.

First above the family stood the clan or gens. This was probably in the earliest times simply the expanded family, the members of which had outgrown the remembrance of their exact relationship. Yet they all believed themselves to have had a common ancestor and called themselves by his name, as, for instance, in the case of the Fabii, the Claudii, the Julii, and so on. The gens, like the family, had a common altar. Like the family, again, it had clients, who in some cases formed a numerous body.

The next largest group or division of the community was the curia, which has been compared to the ward of the modern city. This was the most important political division of the people, as the family was the most important social group. So important was it that according to some authorities it gave a special name to the Romans — *Quirites*, that is, "men of the curiæ."

We do not know positively whether the members of a curia looked upon themselves as kinsmen, as did the members of the family and of the gens.² They had, in any event, a common

² "The members of a curia were very probably neighbors and kinsmen, but the curia seems to represent a stage in political development midway between that in which clanship is the sole bond of union, and that in which such claims as those of

worship and held common festivals. What made the curia so important a division of the community was the fact that the levies for the army were made by curiæ, and that the voting in the primitive assembly of the people, as we shall explain presently, was done by these same bodies. There were thirty curiæ in primitive Rome.

Above the curiæ was the tribe, the largest subdivision of the community. It had, so far as our knowledge goes, neither magistrates nor assemblies of its own. In early Rome there were three tribes, each composed of ten curiæ.

These several groups, — the families, the gentes, the curiæ, the tribes, — forming successive strata, as we have indicated, of the social and political structure, made up the community of early Rome. This city, like the city of ancient Greece (sec. 136), was a "city-state," that is, an independent sovereign body like a modern nation. As such it possessed a constitution and government, concerning which we will next give a short account.

377. The King. — At the head of the early Roman state stood a king, the father of his people, holding essentially the same relations to them that the father of a family held to his household. He was at once ruler of the nation, commander of the army, and judge and high priest of his people. In theory his power was absolute. He was preceded by servants called lictors, each bearing a bundle of rods (the fasces) with an ax bound therein, the symbol of his power to punish by flogging and by putting to death.

378. The Senate. — Next to the king stood the senate, or "council of the old men," composed of the "fathers" or heads of the ancient clans of the community. It is said to have consisted of three hundred members, a number corresponding to the traditional number of gentes composing the early city. The senators were appointed by the king and held their position for life. Two important functions of the senate were to give counsel to the king and to cast the decisive vote on all measures passed by the assembly of citizens.

territorial contiguity and ownership of land have obtained recognition" (Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, p. 23). Compare secs. 136, n. 4, and 395.

379. The Popular Assembly. — The popular assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised all the freemen of Rome. This was not properly a legislative body, but an assembly called together to hear announcements as to festivals, to ratify the nomination of a new king, to witness wills, and to authorize or give approval to certain proposals and acts concerning the state or the families and clans.

The manner of taking a vote in this assembly should be noticed, for the usage here was followed in all the later popular assemblies of the republican period. The voting was not by individuals but by *curiæ*; that is, each *curia* had one vote, and the measure before the body was carried or lost according as a majority of the *curiæ* voted for or against it.

It should be further noticed that this assembly was not a representative body, like a modern legislature, but a primary assembly, that is, a meeting like a New England town meeting. It was composed of all the citizens of Rome, each being present in his own person as a member of the community and not as a delegate representing some division or some class of the state. All of the later assemblies at Rome were like this primitive assembly. The Romans never learned, or at least never employed, the principle of representation, without which device government by the people in the great states of the present day would be impossible. How important the bearing of this was upon the political fortunes of Rome we shall learn later.

380. The Patricians and the Rights of the Roman Citizen. — The heads of the ancient gentes at Rome, who constituted the senate, were called *patres*, or “fathers,” whence it probably came that all the members of these groups were called *patricians*. These patricians formed the hereditary nobility of the earlier Roman state. They alone possessed the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

And here we must acquaint ourselves with what the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship included. The rights of the Roman citizen were divided, first, into private rights and public rights.

The chief private rights were two, namely, the right of trade (*jus commercii*) and the right of marriage (*jus connubii*). The

right of trade or commerce was the right to acquire, to hold, and to bequeath property (both personal and landed) according to the forms of the Roman law. This in the ancient city, where business and property both tended towards a monopoly in the hands of the citizens, was an important right and privilege.³

The right of marriage was the "right of contracting a full and religious marriage." Such a marriage could take place in early Rome only between patricians.

The three chief public or political rights of the Roman citizen were the right of voting in the public assemblies (*jus suffragii*), the right to hold office (*jus honorum*), and the right of appeal from the decision of a magistrate to the people (*jus provocacionis*).

These rights taken together constituted the most highly valued rights and prerogatives of the Roman citizen. What we should particularly notice is that the Romans adopted the practice of bestowing these rights in installments, so to speak. For instance, the inhabitants of one vanquished city would be given a part of the private rights of citizenship, those of another perhaps all of this class of rights, while upon the inhabitants of a third place would be bestowed all the rights, both private and public. This usage created many different classes of citizens in the Roman state; and this, as will appear later, was one of the most important matters connected with the internal history of Rome.

Now in primitive Rome the patricians alone possessed all these rights of citizenship. Some of the private rights they shared with an inferior class in the state, as will appear in the following paragraph, but the political rights they jealously guarded as the sacred patrimony of their own order.

381. The Plebeians. — When Rome first appears in history, we notice a large class in the community, known as *plebeians* (from *plebs*, the multitude), who enjoy only a part of the rights of citizenship as these have been enumerated in the preceding paragraph.⁴

³ In some modern states aliens are not allowed to acquire landed property; in Roman terms there is withheld from them a part of the *jus commercii*.

⁴ We cannot be quite certain as to the origin of this class of the population of early Rome, but the generally held view has been that it embraced (1) refugees from various quarters; (2) the inhabitants of subjugated Latin towns and other places;

The greater number of the plebeians were petty landowners, holding and tilling with their own hands farms of a few acres in extent in the near neighborhood of Rome.

From what has already been said of them, it will be seen that these plebeians possessed at least one of the most important rights of Roman citizenship, namely, the private right of engaging in trade. But from most of the other rights and privileges of the full citizen they were wholly shut out. They could not contract a legal marriage with one of the patrician order. They could not hold office nor appeal from the decision of a magistrate. A large part of the early history of Rome as a republic is made up of the struggles of these plebeians to better their economic condition and to secure for themselves social and political equality with the patricians.

Selections from the Sources. — DIONYSIUS, ii. 7-10 and 12; on the institutions of Romulus.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, chap. v, "The Original Constitution of Rome." DURUY, vol. i, pp. 189-198. TIGHE, *The Development of the Roman Constitution*, chaps. ii and iii. COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, bk. ii, chap. i, "Religion was the Constituent Principle of the Ancient Family"; and chap. x, "The Gens at Rome and in Greece." PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chap. ii. IHNE, *Early Rome*, chaps. vii-ix. FOWLER, *The City-State*, chaps. ii and iii; deals suggestively with the genesis and nature of the city-state in Greece as well as in Italy. MOREY, *Outlines of Roman Law*, chap. i, "The Organization of Early Roman Society." ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, chaps. i and ii. Teachers may consult TAYLOR, *A Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, pp. 1-25, and GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*, chaps. i-vi.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Roman family. 2. Clientage in early Rome. 3. The position of the plebeians at Rome compared with that of the commons at Athens.

(3) immigrant traders from other cities, who had taken up their permanent residence at Rome and entered into business there; and (4) freedmen and other clients. The theory of Eduard Meyer that they were tribesmen, that is, the humbler members of the original clans and tribes of Rome, has not found general acceptance among scholars.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE ROMAN RELIGION

382. The Place of Religion in Roman History. — In Rome, as in the ancient cities of Greece, religion, aside from the family ancestor worship and the local cults, was an affair of the state. The magistrates of the city possessed a sort of sacerdotal or priestly character; and since almost every official act was connected in some way with the rites of the temple or the sacrifices of the altar, it happens that the political or secular history of the Romans is closely interwoven with their religion. Therefore, in order to understand the transactions of the period upon which we are about to enter, we must first acquaint ourselves with at least the prominent features of their public religious institutions.

383. The Practical and Legal Character of the Religion. — The Roman thought of the gods as watchful of the conduct of their worshipers, and as interested in their affairs. Hence the Roman was in his way very religious, and exceedingly scrupulous in rendering to the divinities the worship due them. He did not, however, serve his gods for naught; he expected from them a full equivalent for the sacrificial victims that he offered them, for the incense that he burned upon their altars, for the gifts he hung up in their temples, and for the costly games and spectacles he provided for their entertainment in the circus and the amphitheater.

And the gods, on their part, were ready to meet this expectation. They gave counsel and help to their faithful followers, and secured them good harvests and a successful issue of their undertakings. On the other hand, neglect angered the gods and caused them to bring upon their unfaithful worshipers all kinds of troubles and calamities, — dissensions within the state, defeat of their armies in the field, drought, fire and flood, pestilence and famine. But their anger could be turned aside or appeased by expiatory

sacrifices and offerings. "When the gods of the community were angry and nobody could be laid hold of as definitely guilty, they might be appeased by one who voluntarily gave himself up; noxious chasms in the ground were closed,¹ and battles half lost were converted into victories when a brave burgess threw himself as an expiatory offering into the abyss or upon the foe" (Mommson).

Another noteworthy feature of the Roman religion was its legal character; for the Roman religion was a sort of contract between the gods and their worshipers. If the worshipers performed their part of this contract, then the gods were bound to fulfill theirs.

But the Roman was ever ready to take advantage of a flaw in a contract and to overreach in a bargain, and making his gods like unto himself, he imagined that they would act in a like manner. Hence the anxious care with which he performed all the prescribed religious rites, in order to insure that there should be no flaw in the proceedings which might be taken advantage of by the gods.

384. The Chief Roman Deities. — At the head of the Roman pantheon stood Jupiter, identical in all essential attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno and Minerva, was consecrated a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the forum and the city.

Mars, the god of war, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "Children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games and festivals were celebrated in his honor



FIG. 123. — HEAD OF JANUS
(From a Roman coin)

¹ The reference is to the legend of Marcus Curtius. In the year 359 B.C., a great chasm having opened in the forum, this heroic youth, mounting his horse, plunged into the gulf, and through such self-sacrifice appeased the gods and closed the crevice. See Livy, vii. 6.

during the first month of the Roman year, which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March.

Janus was a double-faced deity to whom the month of January was sacred, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The fire upon the household hearth was regarded as the symbol of the goddess Vesta. Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth in the temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state.

385. Oracles and Divination. — The Romans, like the Greeks, thought that the will of the gods was communicated to men by means of oracles, and by strange sights, unusual events, or singular coincidences. There were no true oracles at Rome. The Romans,

therefore, often had recourse to those among the Greeks. Particularly in great emergencies did they seek advice from the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi. From Etruria was introduced the art of the *haruspices*, or soothsayers, which consisted in discover-

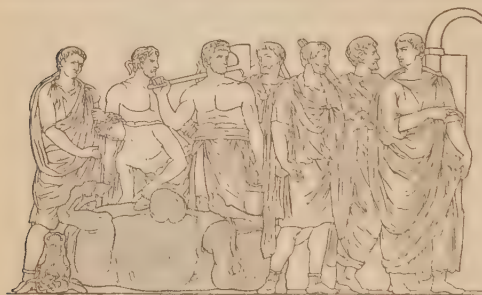


FIG. 124. — DIVINING BY MEANS OF THE APPEAR-
ANCE OF THE ENTRAILS OF A SACRIFICIAL
VICTIM.

This was with the Romans a usual way of
foretelling future events

ing the will of the gods by the appearance of the entrails of victims slain for the sacrifices.

386. The Sacred Colleges. — The four chief sacred colleges or societies were the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of the Herald.

The Sibylline Books were volumes written in Greek, the origin of which was lost in fable. They were kept in a stone chest in a

vault beneath the Capitoline temple, and special custodians were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The books were consulted only in times of extreme danger (sec. 436).

The duty of the members of the College of Augurs was to interpret the omens, or auspices, — which were casual sights or appearances, particularly the flight of birds, — by which means it was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the “taking of the auspices,” as it was called. No business of importance, public or private, was entered upon without the auspices being first consulted to ascertain whether they were favorable.

The College of Pontiffs was so called probably because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair a certain bridge (*pons*) over the Tiber. This guild was the most important of all the religious institutions of the Romans; for to the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. The head of the college was called *Pontifex Maximus*, or “Chief Bridge Builder,” which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome; and thus the name has come down to our times.

The College of Herald (Fetiales) had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. Thus, if the Roman people had suffered any wrong from another state, and war was determined upon, then it was the duty of a herald to proceed to the frontier of the enemy's country and hurl over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war. The Romans were very careful in the observance of this ceremony.

387. Sacred Games and Festivals. — The Romans had many religious games and festivals. Prominent among these were the so-called Circensian Games, or Games of the Circus, which were very similar to the sacred games of the Greeks. They consisted, in the main, of chariot racing, wrestling, foot racing, and various other athletic contests.

These festivals, as in the case of those of the Greeks, had their origin in the belief that the gods delighted in the exhibition of feats of skill, strength, or endurance; that their anger might be

appeased by such spectacles ; or that they might be persuaded by the promise of games to lend aid to mortals in great emergencies.²

Towards the close of the republic these games lost much of their religious character, and at last became degraded into mere brutal shows given by ambitious leaders for the purpose of winning popularity (sec. 582).

The *Saturnalia* were a festival held in December in honor of Saturn, the god of sowing. It was an occasion on which all classes, including the slaves, who were allowed their freedom during the celebration, gave themselves up to riotous amusements ; hence the significance we attach to the word *saturnalian*. The well-known Roman carnival of to-day is a survival of the ancient *Saturnalia*.

Selections from the Sources. — LIVY, i. 20, Numa institutes Religion ; and vii. 6, Legend of Marcus Curtius. CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 2.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. i, chap. xii. IHNE, *Early Rome*, chap. vi, "Religious Institutions in the Time of the Kings." INGE, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, chap. i. COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, bk. i, chaps. i-iv, "Ancient Beliefs." DURUY, vol. i, chap. iii. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, pp. 288-293.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Character of the Roman religion. 2. The worship of Vesta. 3. The Sibylline Books. 4. The College of Augurs. 5. Contrast between the Greek and the Roman gods. 6. The worship of ancestors.

² "The games were an entertainment offered to the guests [the gods, who were "the guests of honor"], which were as certainly believed to be gratifying to their sight as a review of troops or a deer hunt to a modern European sovereign." — WHEELER, *Dionysos and Immortality*, p. 11.



FIG. 125.—THE BRONZE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL

CHAPTER XXXV

ROME UNDER THE KINGS

388. **Latium before Rome ; the Latin League.**—In very early times Latium, the “flat country,” as the name probably signifies, lying south of the lower course of the Tiber, was dotted with settlements of the Latin people. These settlements were merely groups of clans, or village communities, to which has been given the name of cantons. The villages constituting any given canton were generally, it would seem, scattered over the little cantonal territory, in order that the villagers, who were petty farmers and shepherds, might be near the land they cultivated or the common pastures out upon which they drove their sheep and cattle ; but sometimes the villages appear to have been huddled together on some eligible spot, such as a low hill might afford.

Each canton had a central stronghold, which served as a refuge for the villagers in times of danger, and as a common meeting place for their markets and religious festivals. The site chosen for this canton center was, whenever practicable, some easily defended rock or hill, of which the situation of Tibur, built on a spur of the Apennines, and that of Alba Longa, on the isolated Alban Mount, are good illustrations.

According to tradition there were in all Latium in prehistoric times thirty of these clan clusters, or petty city-states. Before the dawn of history these cantons had formed an alliance among themselves known as the Latin League. The leadership in this confederacy was held at first by Alba Longa.

389. **The Beginnings of Rome.** — It was in the midst of such an environment as that which we have described in the preceding paragraph that Rome arose and grew into greatness.

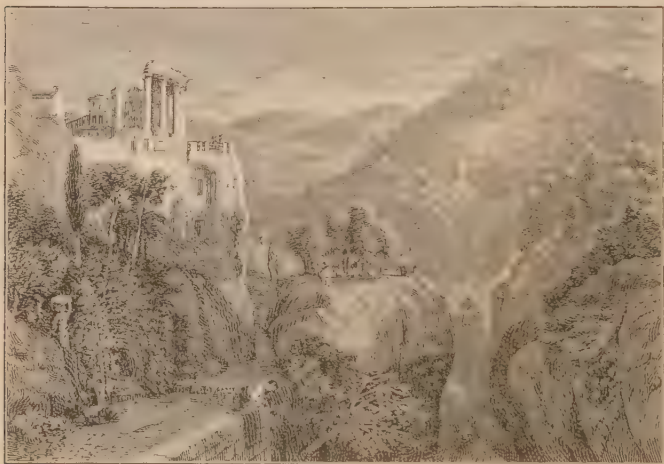


FIG. 126. — THE SITE OF TIBUR, THE MODERN TIVOLI
(After an old engraving)

To the left, the ruins of an ancient temple of Vesta

Among the cantons of early Latium was one formed by the Ramnes, — whence possibly the name Romans, — a community of the Latin stock. This canton embraced three clans or villages, the dwellings of which were upon the slopes or at the foot of the Palatine Mount, one of a cluster of low hills on the left bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea. On the summit of the hill was the citadel or stronghold of the settlement. Modern excavations have revealed portions of the foundations of the ancient walls, together with remains of two of the gates.

This little fortress town we may regard as the nucleus around which grew up the Rome of history. It was intended doubtless to serve as an outpost to protect the northern frontier of Latium against the Etruscans, — the most powerful and aggressive neighbors of the Latin people, — and thus its inhabitants early became inured to military discipline and learned those military virtues which made them preëminent among their neighbors in the art of war even in a warlike age.

390. How Greater Rome was formed. — In the neighborhood of the little Palatine settlement were two other canton communities, one of which seems to have been of Sabine origin. In times before history there took place between these three cantons something which, so far as our knowledge goes, never occurred in the case of any others of the clan clusters of Latium. After much hard fighting between the rival communities, — for in this way we may summarize the legend of these prehistoric times, — they accommodated their differences, united on equal terms to form a single nation, and learned to call themselves by the same name. The Capitoline hill was chosen for the location of the stronghold of the new and enlarged city.¹

Each of the old cantons constituted a tribe (*tribus*) or division of the new state. Each tribe was composed of ten *curiæ*. There were thus in the new city three tribes, known as the *Ramnes*, the *Tities*, and the *Luceres*, thirty *curiæ*, and, if we are to follow the numbers given by tradition, three hundred *gentes* or clans.

391. Importance of this Prehistoric Union. — This confederation of the three little communities by the Tiber, by whatsoever means effected, was one of the most important matters not only in the history of Rome but in the history of civilization. It laid the basis of the greatness of Rome and foreshadowed her marvelous political fortunes.

The ancient city, as we have learned, was a very exclusive association. On religious and other grounds it closed its gates against strangers. The rights and privileges of the citizens were not shared with aliens. The vanquished were made subjects or

¹ This is like what took place at Athens in prehistoric times (sec. 179).

tributaries. But here we see Rome at the very outset of her career adopting a more liberal policy than that adopted by any other ancient city-state, save possibly early Athens, whose history is known to us. And for seven hundred years and more the Romans followed, more or less steadily and consistently, this good precedent set them in prehistoric times, and bestowed the freedom of their city, — that is, the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship, — upon the peoples they successively conquered, until at last the roll of Roman citizens had increased from a few thousand to several million names.² The way in which they did this, the reluctance at times with which they granted the boon to the van-

quished, — this makes up a very large part of the internal history of Rome, and constitutes also a chief element of its interest and instructiveness.³



FIG. 127. — AN ANCIENT ROMAN COIN BEARING THE PROW OF A SHIP

From the use of this symbol on the city's money we may assume that commerce held an important place in the life of early Rome

392. Influence of Commerce upon the Growth of Early Rome. — Besides the early happy union of the three communities, various secondary causes contributed without doubt to the early and rapid growth of Rome. Among these a prominent place must be given to the advantages in the way of trade and commerce afforded by its fortunate situation upon the Tiber. Its distance from the sea protected it

against the depredations of the pirates who in early times swarmed in the Mediterranean and swept away the cattle and the crops from the fields of the coast settlements, while its location on the chief stream of Central Italy naturally made it the center of the lucrative trade of a wide reach of inland territory bordering upon the Tiber and its tributaries. The early founding by the city of the seaport

² See the table of the census lists on page 492.

³ Consult particularly secs. 418, 470, 471, 512, and 527.

of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, and the adoption for its early coinage of the device of a ship's prow (Fig. 127), are cited as evidences of the important place that commerce held in the early life of the Romans.

393. The Legendary Kings. — For nearly two and a half centuries after the legendary founding of Rome (from 753 to 509 B.C.) the government was a monarchy. To span this period the legends of the Romans tell of the reigns of seven kings, — Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, both conquerors; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the reorganizer of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The traditions of the doings of these monarchs and of what happened to them blend hopelessly fact and fable. We cannot be quite sure even as to their names. Respecting Roman affairs, however, under the last three rulers (the Tarquins), who were of Etruscan origin, some important things are related, the substantial truth of which we may rely upon with a fair degree of certainty; and these matters we shall notice in the following paragraphs.

394. Growth of Rome under the Tarquins. — The Tarquins extended their authority over the whole of Latium. The position of supremacy thus given Rome was attended by the rapid growth of the city in population and importance. The original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes; new ramparts were built — tradition says under the direction of the king Servius Tullius — which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of seven hills on the south bank of the Tiber, whence the name that Rome acquired of “the City of the Seven Hills.”

A large tract of marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained by means of the *Cloaca Maxima*, an arched canal, which was so admirably constructed that it has been preserved to the present day. It still discharges its waters through a great arch into the Tiber.⁴ The land thus reclaimed became

⁴ “It is a work to be classed among the great triumphs of engineering.” — LANCIANI.

the *Forum*, the public market place of the early city. At one end of this public square, as we should call it, was the *Comitium*, an inclosure where assemblies for voting purposes were held. Standing on the dividing line between the comitium and the forum proper was the stand, later named the *Rostra*,⁵ from which the public speakers delivered their addresses.

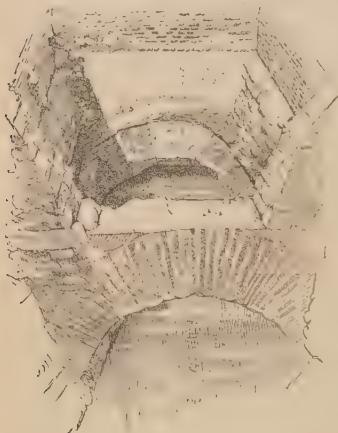


FIG. 128. — THE CLOACA MAXIMA

This assembling place, which after the creation of other forums came to be known as the *Forum Romanum magnum*, in later times was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticoes. It was the center of the political, the religious, and the business life of Rome. Here more was said, resolved upon, and done than upon any other spot in the ancient world.

Upon the level ground between the Aventine and the Palatine was located the *Circus Maximus*, the "Great Circle," where were celebrated the Roman games. The most noted of the streets of Rome was the *Via Sacra*, or "Sacred Way," which traversed the forum and led up the Capitoline hill to the temple of Jupiter. This was the street along which passed the triumphal processions of the Roman conquerors.

395. The Reforms of Servius Tullius: the Five Classes and the Four New Tribes. — It was the second king of the Etruscan house, Servius Tullius by name, to whom tradition attributes a most important change in the constitution of the Roman state.⁶ He made

⁵ So called because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of war galleys taken from enemies (sec. 418).

⁶ The reform itself is an historical fact, but it is possible that it was not effected by the efforts of any particular king. It may have been the result of a long period of slow constitutional development.

property and residence instead of birth, or membership in the patrician clans (sec. 380), the basis of the duties and consequently of the privileges of citizenship.

Up to this time service in the army had been the duty and the privilege of the patricians, each of the three tribes furnishing to the army one thousand foot soldiers and one hundred horsemen. But the growing state had come to need a larger military force than the patrician order alone could maintain. Servius Tullius

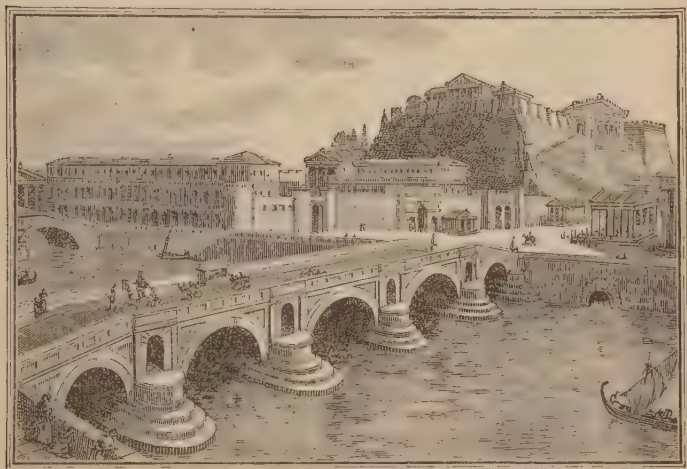


FIG. 129.—VIEW OF THE CAPITOLINE, WITH THE CLOACA MAXIMA
(A reconstruction)

increased the army by requiring all landowners, whether patricians or plebeians, between seventeen and sixty years of age, to assume a place in the ranks. The whole body of persons thus made liable to military service was divided into five classes according to the amount of land each possessed. The largest landowners were enrolled in the first three classes, and were required to provide themselves with complete armor; the smaller proprietors, who made up the remaining two classes, were called upon to furnish themselves with only a light equipment.

At the same time in place of the three old patrician tribes there were now created four new ones, each made up of the landowners residing in a given district. Though these new divisions of the population were called tribes, still they were very different in character from the earlier divisions bearing this name. Membership in one of the old tribes was determined by birth or relationship, while membership in one of the new tribes was determined by place of residence.⁷



FIG. 130. — ROMAN SOLDIER

The formation of these new tribes was a matter of very great importance for the internal history of Rome. Such a grouping of the patrician and the plebeian landowners tended of course to break down the wall of separation between the two orders and to unite them in a single body.

396. The Army; the Legion. — The unit of the military organization was the century, probably containing at this time, as the name (*centuria*) indicates, one hundred men.⁸ Forty-two centuries were united to form the legion, which thus at this period probably numbered 4200 men, its normal strength. The tactical formation of the legion was the old Grecian phalanx, which seems to have been borrowed from the Dorian cities of Magna

Græcia. This legion phalanx had probably a front of five hundred men and a depth of six ranks. The heavy-equipped citizens made up the front, the light-equipped the rear, ranks.

There were at the period of the Servian reforms four legions. Two, composed of the younger men, were for service in the field; the remaining two, made up of the older citizens, formed a sort

⁷ Thus these new tribes were like our wards or townships. As new territory was acquired by the Romans through conquest, new tribes were created, until there were finally thirty-five, which number was never exceeded.

⁸ Later the number of the body was increased so that the term "century" lost all numerical significance.

of home guard. Besides the four legions there was a cavalry force of eighteen hundred men, made up of the richest landowners. This brought the total strength of the army up to about twenty thousand men.

397. The Comitia Centuriata. — The assembling place of those liable to military service, thus organized into centuries and classes, was on a large plain just outside the city walls, called the *Campus Martius*, or "Field of Mars." The meeting of these military orders was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the "assembly of hundreds." This body, which of course was made up both of patricians and plebeians as active members, came in the course of time to absorb the most of the powers of the earlier assembly (*comitia curiata*).

398. Importance of the Servian Reforms. — The reforms of Servius Tullius were an important step towards the establishment of social and political equality between the two great orders of the state, — the patricians and the plebeians. The new constitution, indeed, as Mommsen says, assigned to the plebeians duties only, and not rights; but being called upon to discharge the most important duties of citizens, it was not long before they demanded all the rights of citizens; and as the bearers of arms they were able to enforce their demands.⁹

399. The Expulsion of the Kings. — The legends, as already noted, make Tarquinius Superbus the last king of Rome. He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event, according to the Roman annalists, occurred in the year 509 B.C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens (sec. 187).

So bitterly did the people hate the tyranny they had abolished that they all, it is said, the nobles as well as the commons, bound themselves by most solemn oaths never again to tolerate a king,

⁹ This reform movement at Rome was part of a revolution which seems to have been participated in by all the peoples of Greece and Italy who had reached the city stage of development. Thus, at just about the time that tradition represents Servius Tullius as effecting his reform at Rome, Cleisthenes, the Athenian legislator, was instituting a similar reform in the constitution of Athens (compare sec. 188).

enacting that should any one so much as express a wish for the restoration of the monarchy he should be considered a public enemy and be put to death.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Romulus* and *Life of Numa*. In the case of these particular lives the student will of course bear in mind that he is reading Roman folklore; but it is worth while for the student of Roman history to know what the Romans of later times themselves believed respecting their early kings. LIVY, i and ii; a choice may be made among the early legends.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. i, chaps. vi and vii. IHNE, vol. i, bk. i, chap. xiii; and the same author's *Early Rome*, chaps. i-v and vii-ix. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. i and iv. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chap. iii. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, pp. 20-52. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chap. v. LEWIS, *The Credibility of Early Roman History*; for advanced students.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Legends of the kings. 2. The Roman Forum. 3. Early architectural works. 4. The beginnings of Rome in the light of recent excavations. See *Lanciani*. 5. The credibility and value of the legends. See *Livy*, vi, 1, *Ihne*, *Mommsen*, and *Lewis*.

SECOND PERIOD — ROME AS A REPUBLIC

(509-31 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE EARLY REPUBLIC; PLEBEIANS BECOME CITIZENS WITH FULL RIGHTS

(509-367 B.C.)

400. Republican Magistrates: the Consuls and the Dictator. —

With the monarchy overthrown and the last king and his house banished from Rome, the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king there were elected (509 B.C.) by the *comitia centuriata*, in which assembly the plebeians had a vote, two patrician magistrates, called at first *prætors* or “leaders,” but later, *consuls* or “colleagues.” These magistrates were chosen for one year, and were invested with all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been exercised by the king during the regal period.¹ In public each consul was attended, as the king had been, by twelve lictors, each bearing the “dread fasces” (sec. 377).

Each consul had the power of obstructing the acts or vetoing the commands of the other. This was called the “right of intercession.” This division of authority weakened the executive, so

¹ This authority of the consuls was, however, straightway restricted in a most important respect. The consul Publius Valerius secured the passage of a law concerning appeals known as the Valerian Law, which forbade any magistrate, save a dictator, to put any Roman citizen to death without the concurrence on appeal of the people in the centuriate assembly. This law, however, did not bind the consuls when they were at the head of the army outside the city. From this time on, the consular lictors, when accompanying the consuls within the city, removed the ax from the fasces as a symbol that the power to execute there the death sentence upon any citizen had been taken away.

that in times of great public danger it was necessary to supersede the consuls by the appointment of a special officer bearing the title of *dictator*, whose term of office was limited to six months, but whose power during this time was as unlimited as that of the king had been.



FIG. 131. — LICTORS WITH FASCES

The symbolic fasces borne by these officers were probably of Etruscan origin. The Tarquins are said to have brought them to Rome along with other insignia of the kingly office

The dictator was nominated by one of the consuls acting under an order of the senate which must be obeyed. He was preceded by twenty-four lictors. The dictator always named as his lieutenant and representative a magistrate known as "master of the horse" (*magister equitum*).

A consul could not be impeached, or reached by any legal or constitutional process, while in office ; but after the expiration of his term he could be prosecuted for any misconduct or illegal act of which he might have been guilty while holding his magistracy. This rule was applied to all the other magistrates of the republic.

Lucius Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus were

the first consuls under the new constitution. But it is said that the very name of Tarquinius was so intolerable to the people that he was forced to resign the consulship, and that he and all his house were driven out of Rome. Another consul, Publius Valerius, was chosen in his stead.

401. First Secession of the Plebeians (494 B.C.).—Taking advantage of the disorders which followed the expulsion of the Tarquins and their efforts to reestablish themselves in Rome, the Latin towns, which during the regal period had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, rose in revolt, with the result that almost all the conquests that had been made under the kings were lost.

Troubles without brought troubles within. The poor plebeians, during this period of disorder and war, fell in debt to the wealthy class, and payment was exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death.

The situation was intolerable. The plebeians resolved to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, known afterwards as the Sacred Mount. Having on one occasion been called to arms to repel an invasion, they refused to march out against the enemy, but instead marched away in a body from Rome to the spot selected beforehand, and began to make preparations for erecting new homes (494 B.C.).

402. The Covenant and the Tribunes.—The patricians well knew that such a division would prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. The consul Valerius was sent to treat with the insurgents. The plebeians were at first obdurate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the embassy to return, being won to this mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, who made use of the well-known fable of the body and the members.

The following covenant was entered into and bound by the most solemn oaths: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be canceled and debtors held in slavery set free; and two plebeian magistrates (the number was soon increased to ten), called *tribunes*, whose duty it should be to watch over the plebeians and protect them against the injustice and partiality of the patrician magistrates, were to be chosen in an assembly of the plebeians.²

² This assembly, the origin of which is obscure, was soon reorganized by the celebrated Publilian Law (471 B.C.) and became known as the *concilium tributum plebis*, the plebeian assembly of tribes (compare sec. 408).

That the tribunes might be the protectors of the plebeians in something more than name, they were invested with an extraordinary power known as the *jus auxilii*, "the right of aid"; that is, they were given the right, should any patrician magistrate attempt to deal wrongfully with a plebeian, to annul his act or stop his proceeding.³

The persons of the tribunes were made sacrosanct, that is, inviolable, like the persons of heralds or ambassadors of a foreign state. Any one interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties or doing him any violence was declared an outlaw whom any one might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night and day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

The tribunes were attended and aided by officers called *ædiles*, who were elected from the plebeian order, and, like the tribunes, invested with a sacrosanct character. Among their duties was the care of the streets and markets and of the public archives.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this establishment of the plebeian tribunate. It in effect created a state within the state, for the plebeians, organized as they now were with their own assembly presided over by officers whose inviolability had been recognized by a solemn compact, stood over against the patricians almost as one nation stands to another.

403. The Public Lands. — As we have already learned, there was even at this early period in the history of Rome a large number of persons in the state included in the class of the wretchedly poor. A chief cause of this condition of things was the unfair management of the public land (*ager publicus*). As the contention over this land was almost constant throughout the period of the republic, we must endeavor here, at the outset of our study, to understand the matter.

³ A tribune, however, had no authority over a consul when he was at the head of the army away from Rome, but under all other circumstances he could for disobedience even arrest and imprison him.

According to the rules of war in antiquity, the property, the liberty, and even the lives of the vanquished were at the free disposal of the conqueror. But the Romans, actuated probably by considerations of policy rather than by motives of humanity, did not usually exercise all these harsh rights of the victor. They generally left the conquered peoples not only life and liberty but also a large part of their lands. The remainder, amounting to a third or more, they confiscated, and added to the public lands of the Roman state.

A part of the lands thus acquired was sold or rented, or was cut up into homesteads for discharged veterans and poor citizens. But these several methods of disposing of the public lands left still remaining in the hands of the state large unsurveyed tracts, usually the more remote and wilder portions of the confiscated territories. Now respecting these, custom or the law permitted persons to enter upon and cultivate them, or to turn their flocks and cattle out upon them. In return for such use of the public land the occupier paid the state usually a fifth or a tenth of the yearly produce. Persons who availed themselves of this privilege were called possessors or occupiers; we should call them "squatters," or "tenants at will."

Now what created the earliest agrarian troubles at Rome was this: The patricians claimed for themselves the exclusive right to occupy the unsold or unleased public lands. Through this monopoly many of them acquired great riches. The plebeians naturally complained because of their exclusion from these common lands, since it was their sacrifices and their blood that had helped to win them.

What gave the plebeians further ground for complaint was the notorious fact that the patrician quæstors, officers whose business it was to collect the rents due the state from the occupiers of the public lands, favoring their own order, were very slack in making these collections. Moreover, these occupiers of the common lands were coming to employ slaves instead of freemen, for the reason that the work of the slave was not liable to be interrupted by his being called upon for military service.

What has now been said will enable the reader to understand the quarrels between the patricians and the plebeians, the rich and the poor, which from the fifth century forward were almost constantly agitating the Roman state. The land question was the eternal question at Rome.

404. Spurius Cassius and his Agrarian Proposals (486 B.C.).

—Spurius Cassius has been called the first of the “social reformers” of Rome. This patrician, with a view to relieving the distress of the poor plebeians, brought forward as consul the following proposals: (1) That the lands recently acquired in war, instead of being sold or leased, be allotted in small holdings to needy Romans and to the Latins; (2) that the amount of land for such distribution be increased by taking away from the rich patricians those public lands which they were occupying as tenants at will.⁴

The fate of the proposals is uncertain. If they were made a law, the law was never carried into effect. The act, however, served as the inspiration and the model of later agrarian measures, and for this reason it constitutes a great landmark in the history of the land problem at Rome.

Spurius Cassius suffered the fate of many of the other social reformers who arose after him at Rome. Upon the expiration of his term as consul he was brought to trial by his patrician enemies on the charge of endeavoring to make himself king through purchasing with donations of land the favor of the people. He was declared guilty and was put to death.

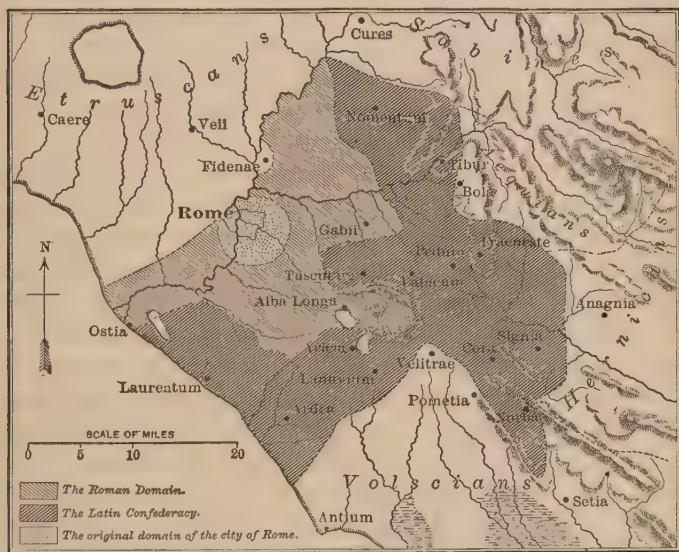
405. Border Wars and Border Tales; Coriolanus and Cincinnatus.

—The chief enemies of early Rome and her Latin allies were the Volscians, the Æquians, the Sabines, and the Etruscans. For more than a hundred years after the founding of the republic, Rome, either alone or in connection with her confederates, was almost constantly fighting one or another or all of these peoples. But these operations cannot be regarded as real wars. They were, on the side of both parties, for the most part mere plundering forays or cattle-raiding expeditions into the enemy's territories.

⁴ This is what Livy (ii. 41) gives us as the substance of the proposals.

We shall probably not get a wrong idea of their real character if we liken them to the early so-called border wars between England and Scotland. Like the Scottish wars, they were embellished by the Roman story-tellers with the most extravagant and picturesque tales. Two of the best known of these are those of Coriolanus and Cincinnatus.

According to the tradition, during the prevalence of a severe famine at Rome, Gelo, king of Syracuse, sent a large quantity of



THE ROMAN DOMAIN AND THE LATIN CONFEDERACY IN THE TIME OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, ABOUT 450 B.C.

grain to the capital for distribution among the suffering poor. A certain patrician, Coriolanus by name, made a proposal that none of the grain should be given to the plebeians save on condition that they gave up their tribunes. These officials straightway summoned him before the plebeian assembly on the charge of having broken the solemn covenant of the Sacred Mount, and so bitter was the feeling against him that he was obliged to flee from Rome.

He now allied himself with the Volscians, enemies of Rome, and even led their armies against his native city. Embassies from the senate were sent to him to sue for peace. But the spirit of Coriolanus was bitter and resentful, and he would listen to none of their proposals. Then came to him at last his mother and his wife with her two sons and a band of Roman matrons. The mother's entreaties and the tears and prayers of the wife and children finally prevailed. Embracing his mother, Coriolanus exclaimed, "Mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son." He then withdrew his army from Roman soil.

The second and best-known tale, that of Cincinnatus, tells how, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, the Æquians defeated the forces of the other and shut them up in a narrow valley whence escape seemed impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city. The senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a grand old patrician, dictator. The commissioners who carried to him the message from the senate found him upon his little farm across the Tiber, at work plowing. Cincinnatus at once accepted the office, gathered the Roman army, surrounded and captured the enemy, and sent them all beneath the yoke.⁵ He then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, having held it only sixteen days, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

406. The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables of Laws (451-450 B.C.). — While these petty border wars were furnishing the material for these tales of adventure and heroism, the contest between the patricians and plebeians was going on unceasingly in the very heart of the community itself. One phase of this struggle constitutes a great landmark in the history of the Roman people. This was the revision and reduction to writing of the customs and laws of the state.

Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and what shall be its penalty

⁵ This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third spear. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this yoke as a symbol of submission.

are clearly written down and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions or inflict unjust punishment, and yet run little risk — unless they go altogether too far — of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what either the law or the penalty really is. Hence, in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of a ruling class, the demand for written laws is one of the first measures taken by them for the protection of their persons and property. Thus the commons at Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanded and obtained a code of written laws (sec. 183). The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that the laws be written down and published. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to their wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission, so tradition says, was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study their laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy, a commission of ten magistrates, who were known as decemvirs, was appointed to frame a code of laws (451 B.C.). These officers, while engaged in this work, were also to administer the entire government, and so were invested with the supreme power of the state. The patricians gave up their consuls, and the plebeians their tribunes. At the end of the first year the task of the board was quite far from being finished, so a new decemvirate was elected to complete the work. Appius Claudius was the only member of the old board that was returned to the new. The code was soon finished, and the laws were written on twelve tablets of bronze, which were fastened to the rostra, or orator's platform in the forum, where they might be seen and read by all.

Only a few fragments of these celebrated laws have been preserved, but the substance of a considerable part of the code is known to us through the indirect quotations from it or allusions to it occurring in the works of later writers and jurists. The following quotations will convey some idea of the general character of this primitive legislation.

The provisions regarding the treatment of debtors are noteworthy. The law provided that, after the lapse of a certain

number of days of grace, the creditor of a delinquent debtor might either put him in the stocks or in chains, sell him to any stranger resident beyond the Tiber, or put him to death. In case of there being several creditors the law provided as follows: "After the third market day his [the debtor's] body may be divided. Any one taking more than his just share shall be held guiltless."⁶ We are informed by later Roman writers that this savage provision of the law was, as a matter of fact, never carried into effect.

A special provision touching the power of the father over his sons provided that "during their whole life he shall have the right to imprison, scourge, keep to rustic labor in chains, to sell or to slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices."⁷

The prevalence of popular superstitions is revealed by one of the laws which provides for the punishment of any one who by enchantments should blight the crops of another.

These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were to Roman jurisprudence what the good laws of Solon were to the Athenian constitution. They formed the basis of all new legislation for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth, — every schoolboy being required to learn them by heart.

407. Misrule and Overthrow of the Decemvirs; Second Secession of the Plebeians (450 B.C.). — The first decemvirs used the great power lodged in their hands with justice and prudence; but the second board, under the leadership of Appius Claudius, instituted a most infamous and tyrannical rule. No man's life was safe, be he patrician or plebeian. An ex-tribune, daring to denounce the course of the decemvirs, was caused by them to be assassinated.

Another act, even more outrageous than this, filled to the brim the cup of their iniquities. Virginia was the beautiful daughter of a plebeian. Appius Claudius, desiring to gain possession of her, made use of his authority as a judge to pronounce her a

⁶ Here the actual text has been preserved to us, and reads as follows: *Tertiis nundinis partis secanto: si plus minusve secuerint, ne fraude esto* (Ortolan's *History of the Roman Law*, trans. by Prichard and Nasmith, p. 106). ⁷ See sec. 373.

slave. The father of the maiden, preferring the death of his daughter to her dishonor, killed her with his own hand. Then, drawing the weapon from her breast, he hastened to the army, which was away from Rome resisting a united invasion of the Sabines and Æquians, and, exhibiting the bloody knife, told the story of the outrage.⁸

The soldiers rose as a single man and hurried to the city. The excitement resulted in a great body of the Romans, probably chiefly plebeians, seceding from the state and marching away to the Sacred Hill. This procedure, which once before had proved so effectual in securing justice to the oppressed, had a similar issue now. The situation was so critical that the decemvirs were forced to resign. The consulate and the tribunate were restored.

498. The Valerio-Horatian Laws ; "the Roman Magna Charta" (449 B.C.). — The consuls chosen were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who secured the passage of certain laws, known as the Valerio-Horatian Laws, which are of such constitutional importance that they have been called "the Magna Charta of Rome." Like the great English charter, their purpose was not so much the creation of new safeguards of liberty as the reaffirming and strengthening of the old securities of the rights and privileges of the humbler citizens of Rome. Among the provisions of the laws the following were the most important.

1. That the resolutions (*plebiscita*) passed by the plebeian assembly of tribes should in the future have the force of laws and should bind the whole people the same as the resolutions of the *comitia centuriata*. Hitherto these resolutions had possessed no force save as expressions of opinion, like the resolutions of a mass meeting among ourselves.

2. That the tribunes be permitted to sit as listeners before the door of the senate house. This was an important concession, on account of what it led to ; for very soon the tribunes secured the right, first to sit within the senate hall itself, and then to put a stop to any proceeding of the senate by the use of the veto.

⁸ Livy, iii. 44-50. This tale is possibly mythical, but it at least gives a vivid, and doubtless truthful, picture of the times.

We may summarize the effect of these laws by saying that they made the tribunes and the other plebeian magistrates, as well as the plebeian assembly, a recognized part of the constitutional arrangements of the Roman commonwealth. They mark a long step taken towards the equalization of the two orders within the state.

409. Marriages between Patricians and Plebeians made Legal (445 B.C.).—Up to this time the plebeians had not been allowed to contract legal marriages with the patricians. But only three or four years after the passing of the Valerio-Horatian Laws, the tribune Gaius Canuleius carried in the *comitia tributa* a resolution known as the Canuleian Law, whereby marriages between the plebeians and the patricians were legalized.

This law established social equality between the two orders. The plebeians were now in a more advantageous position for continuing their struggle for additional civil rights and for perfect political equality with the patricians.

410. Military Tribunes with Consular Power (444 B.C.).—This same tribune Canuleius also brought forward another proposal, which provided that plebeians might be chosen as consuls. This suggestion led to a violent contention between the two orders. The issue of the matter was a compromise.

It was agreed that, in place of the two patrician consuls, the people might elect from either order magistrates that should be known as “military tribunes with consular powers.” These officers, whose number varied, differed from consuls more in name than in functions or in authority. In fact, the plebeians had gained the consular office but not the consular name.

The patricians were especially unwilling that any plebeian should bear the title of consul, for the reason that an ex-consul enjoyed certain dignities and honors, such as the right to wear a particular kind of dress and to set up in his house images of his ancestors (*jus imaginum*). These honorary distinctions the higher order wished to retain exclusively for themselves. Owing to the great influence of the patricians in the elections, it was not until about 400 B.C. that a plebeian was chosen to the new office.

411. The Censors (443 B.C.). — No sooner had the plebeians secured the right of admission to the military tribunate with consular powers, than the jealous and exclusive patricians began scheming to rob them of the fruit of the victory they had gained. They effected this by taking from the consulate some of its most distinctive duties and powers, and conferring them upon two new patrician officers called *censors*.

The functions of these magistrates, which were gradually extended as time passed, were many and important. They took the census of the citizens and their property, and thus assigned to every man his position in the different classes. They could, for immorality or any improper conduct, degrade a knight from his rank, expel a member from the senate, or deprive any citizen of his vote by striking his name from the roll of the tribes. It was their duty to rebuke ostentation and extravagance in living, and in particular to watch over the morals of the young. From the name of these Roman officers comes our word *ensorious*, meaning fault-finding.

412. Siege and Capture of Veii (405–396 B.C.); **the Romanization of Southern Etruria**. — We must now turn our attention once more to the fortunes of Rome in war. Almost from the founding of the city we find its warlike citizens carrying on a fierce contest with their powerful Etruscan neighbors on the north. The war finally gathered around Veii, the largest and richest of the cities of Etruria. According to the tradition, the Romans, like the Greeks at Troy, laid siege to this city for ten years. The place was at length taken. It was the most opulent city that the Romans had captured up to this time, and the spoils, which were divided among the soldiers, were immense.

The siege of Veii forms a sort of landmark in the military history of Rome, for the reason that the circumstances of the investment led to some important innovations in the military system of the Romans. Thus the length of the siege and the necessity of maintaining a force permanently in the field, winter and summer alike, led to the introduction of pay into the army; for hitherto the common soldier had not only equipped himself but had served

without pay. From this time forward the professional soldier came more and more to take the place of the citizen soldier.

The capture of Veii was followed by that of many other Etruscan towns, and all the southern portion of Etruria, divided into four tribes, was added to the Roman domain. By this act of incorporation all the Etruscan freemen living in these regions and possessing the legal property qualification were made citizens of Rome, and were invested with that measure of the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship that up to this time had been secured by the plebeians.

Into this rich and inviting region thus opened up to Roman enterprise, Roman immigrants now crowded in great numbers, and soon all this part of Etruria became Roman in manners, in customs, and in speech. The Romanization of Italy was now fairly begun.

At this moment there broke upon the city a storm from the north which all but cut short the story we are narrating.

413. Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.).—We have noticed how, in early times, Celtic tribes from Gaul crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy. While the Romans were conquering the towns of Etruria these barbarian hordes were moving southward and overrunning and devastating the countries of Central Italy.

They soon appeared in the neighborhood of Rome. A Roman army met them on the banks of the Allia, eleven miles from the capital. But an unaccountable panic seized the Romans and they abandoned the field in disgraceful flight. The greater part of the fugitives hastened across the Tiber and sought safety behind the walls of Veii, which were still standing.

Consternation filled the capital when news of the terrible disaster reached the city. The vestal virgins, hastily burying such of the sacred things as they could not carry away, fled with the remainder into Etruria, and found a kind reception at the hands of the people of Cære. A large part of the population of Rome followed them across the river and threw themselves into such places of safety as they could find. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

The little garrison within the Capitol, under the command of the hero Marcus Manlius, for seven months resisted all efforts of the Gauls to dislodge them. A tradition tells how, when the barbarians, under cover of the darkness of night, had climbed the steep rock and had almost effected an entrance to the citadel, the defenders were awakened by the cackling of some geese, which the piety of the famishing soldiers had spared because these birds were sacred to Juno.

News was now brought the Gauls that the Venetians were overrunning their possessions in Northern Italy. This led them to open negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold the Gauls agreed to retire from the city. As the story runs, while the gold was being weighed out in the forum the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Væ victis!*" "Woe to the vanquished!" Just at this moment, so the tale continues, Camillus, a brave patrician general who had been appointed dictator, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives. As he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed with steel, and not with gold." According to one account Brennus himself was taken prisoner; but another tradition says that he escaped, carrying with him the ransom money.

The city was quickly rebuilt. There were some things, however, which could not be restored. These were the ancient records and documents, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity and uncertainty.

414. Social Reform again; Condemnation of Marcus Manlius (384 B.C.).—The ravages of the Gauls had left the poor plebeians in a most pitiable condition. In order to rebuild their dwellings and restock their farms, they had been obliged to borrow money of the rich patricians, and consequently had soon come again to experience the insult and oppression that were ever incident to the condition of the debtor class at Rome.

The patrician Marcus Manlius, the hero of the brave defense of the Capitol, now came forward as the champion of the plebeians.

It was believed that in thus undertaking the cause of the commons he had personal aims and ambitions. The patricians determined to crush him. He was finally brought to trial, sentenced to death, and thrown from the Tarpeian Rock.⁹ This event occurred 384 B.C. We may regard Marcus Manlius as the second of the martyrs at Rome in the cause of social reform (sec. 404).

415. The Licinian Laws (367 B.C.); the Final "Equalization of the Orders." — A great amelioration in the social condition of the plebeians and a great advance towards their political equality with the patricians were effected through the passage of the Licinian Laws, so called from one of their proposers, the tribune Gaius Licinius. Among other provisions these laws contained the following: (1) that the plebeians should enjoy with the patricians the right to occupy the public lands, but that no person should hold more than five hundred jugera; ¹⁰ (2) that the office of military tribune with consular power (sec. 410) should be abolished, that two consuls should be chosen yearly as at first, and that one of these should be a plebeian; (3) that in place of the two keepers of the Sibylline Books (sec. 386) there should in the future be ten, and that five of these should be plebeians.

The importance of these proposals is obvious without comment. For ten years the patricians resisted the demands of the commons. But the plebeians each year reelected the same tribunes and under their leadership carried on the struggle. Finally, when the patricians saw that it would be impossible longer to resist the popular demand they had recourse to the old device. They lessened the powers of the consulship by taking away from the consuls their judicial functions and devolving them upon a new patrician magistrate bearing the name of *prætor*. The pretext for this was that the plebeians had no knowledge of the sacred formulas of the law. The senate then approved the rogations ¹¹ and they became laws (367 B.C.).

⁹ The Tarpeian Rock was the name given to the cliff which the Capitoline hill formed on one of its sides. It received its name from Tarpeia, a daughter of one of the legendary keepers of the citadel. State criminals were frequently executed by being thrown from this rock.

¹⁰ A jugerum was about half an acre.

¹¹ Proposed laws, before being passed, were so called from *rogare*, "to ask."

The equalization of the two orders was now practically effected. The son of a peasant might rise to the highest office in the state. The plebeians gained with comparative ease admission to the remaining offices from which the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them.¹²

The incorporation of the plebeians with the body of Roman citizens with full rights was, like the earlier union of the primitive clans of the little hill cantons (sec. 390), a matter of immense import for the future of Rome. The strength of the state was thereby practically doubled, and the city was advanced a long way towards the goal of its destiny,—the making of all the world Roman.

Selections from the Sources.—PLUTARCH, *Life of Poplicola* and *Life of Gaius Marcius Coriolanus*. LIVY, ii. 33, 34, 39, and 40, for the story of Coriolanus; ii. 48 and 49, for the legend of the Fabii; and iii. 26–28, for that of Cincinnatus (from other writers we get some details omitted by Livy); v. 35–49, on the taking of Rome by the Gauls; v. 50–54, on the debate among the Romans in regard to removing to Veii. The last reference is particularly valuable, since the passage here conveys an idea of the feelings of the ancients respecting the sacredness of the city and the relation of its patron gods to it.

References (Modern).—MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. i–iii. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. vi–xiii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. i. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. v–xiii. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. viii and ix. TIGHE, *The Development of the Roman Constitution*, pp. 63–76. ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 24–56. IHNE, *Early Rome*. The later chapters of this volume are practically a criticism of the account which the Roman annalists give of the affairs of the early republic. WILSON, *The State*, pp. 94–104. A suggestive summary. STEPHENSON, *Public Lands and Agrarian Laws of the Roman Republic*; for questions relating to the *ager publicus* and the reform proposals of Spurius Cassius and others.

Topics for Special Study.—1. Legend of the Fabii. 2. Virtues prized by the early Romans as shown by the stories of their heroes. 3. Tales concerning the siege of Veii. 4. Legends connected with the sack of Rome by the Gauls. 5. Roman magistrates. 6. Varying views as to the causes of the First Secession of the plebeians. See *Mommsen* and *Ihne*.

¹² They secured admission to the dictatorship in 356 B.C.; to the censorship in 351 B.C.; to the prætorship in 337 B.C.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(367-264 B.C.)

416. The Fall of the Etruscan Power. — We have seen how, after the taking of Veii, the Romans incorporated with the territory of their state a great part of Southern Etruria (sec. 412). The Romanization of these lands and the threatening advance of the Roman power in these regions caused an uprising of the Etruscan cities that still retained their independence. The movement was quickly suppressed and graded punishment meted out to the cities that had taken part in it.

This struggle marks a turning point in the fortunes of the Etruscan race. In the words of the historian Mommsen, "Their season of power and aspiration had passed away." We shall find them in arms against Rome again and again after this, but their attacks were no longer formidable. What elements of vitality and strength there were remaining in the race were gradually absorbed by Rome, and the Etruscan people and the Etruscan civilization as distinct factors in history disappeared from the world.

417. The First Samnite War (343-341 B.C.). — The power of the Etruscans having been broken, the most formidable remaining competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, rough and warlike mountaineers who held the Apennines to the southeast of Latium. They were worthy rivals of the "Children of Mars." The successive struggles between these martial races are known as the First, Second, and Third Samnite wars. They extended over a period of half a century, and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy. Of the first of this series of Samnite wars we know very little, although Livy wrote a long, but unfortunately unreliable, account of it.

418. The Revolt of the Latin Cities (340–338 B.C.).—In the midst of the Samnite struggle, Rome was confronted by a dangerous revolt of her Latin allies.¹ Leaving the war unfinished, she turned her forces against the insurgents.

The strife between the Romans and their Latin allies was simply, in principle, the old contest within the walls of the capital between the patricians and the plebeians transferred to a larger arena. As the patricians, before the equalization of the orders, had claimed for themselves alone the right to manage the affairs of the state, so now did the united orders claim for Rome alone the right to manage the affairs of all Latium. But the Latins had become dissatisfied with their position in the unequal alliance, and had resolved that Rome should give up the sovereignty she was practically exercising. Accordingly they sent an embassy to Rome, demanding that the association should be made one of perfect equality. To this end the ambassadors proposed that in the future one of the consuls should be a Latin, and that one half of the senate should be chosen from the Latin nation. Rome was to be the common fatherland, and all were to bear the Roman name.

These demands of the ambassadors were listened to by the Roman senators with amazement and indignation. "O Jupiter!" exclaimed one of the consuls, Titus Manlius by name, addressing the statue of the god; "canst thou endure to behold in thy own sacred temple strangers as consuls and as senators?"

The demands of the Latin allies were refused, and war followed, a war in which the Romans were fighting their former comrades of the camp and the field.

The following legend of the war given us by Livy is of value as exhibiting the quality of sternness in the Roman character.

¹ In the year 493 B.C. Rome, through her consul Spurius Cassius, had formed a most important league with the Latin towns (a renewal probably of an earlier alliance). At the outset this league was somewhat such a federation as the Delian League, which Athens just a few years before this had formed with her Ionian allies (sec. 219). There is an instructive parallel between the way in which Athens used her position in the Delian Confederacy to establish an empire and the way in which Rome used her position in the at first equal alliance between her and the towns of Latium to build up a like sovereignty.

In one of the early campaigns of the war the consul Titus Manlius had given strict orders that no one should engage in single combat with any of the enemy. The consul's own son Titus, impelled by the ardor of youth, disobeyed his father's command and accepted a challenge from one of the foe. He slew his antagonist and brought the spoils stripped from the body to his father's tent. The father turned from his son in anger, and ordered the lictors to lay hold of him, to bind him to the stake, and to strike his head from his body. This was done, the consul standing by and looking on. Through such sacrifice of parental feeling did Titus Manlius maintain military discipline and cause his orders, as Livy says, "to be transmitted as a model of austerity to all after times."

After about three years' hard fighting, the rebellion was subdued. The Latin League as a political body was now dissolved, the organization being retained merely for religious purposes. Several of the towns were allowed to retain their independence; others with their territories were made a part of the Roman domain, and became *municipia*² of different grades. The inhabitants of

² The Roman writers used this term with little precision, and modern historians have given it widely different applications. In order to avoid confusion we shall apply the term exclusively to cities or communities actually incorporated with the Roman state yet enjoying at least some measure of local self-government. The teacher will best convey to young pupils an understanding of the Roman municipal system by having them note the system as it exists among ourselves to-day, since our so-called municipal system, in its underlying principle, is an inheritance from Rome. A municipality or municipal town in our system of government is a city which, acting under a charter granted by the state in whose territory it is situated and of which it forms a part, elects its own magistrates, and manages, with more or less supervision on the part of the state, its own local affairs. The essential principle involved in the arrangement is local self-government carried on under the paramount authority of the state. The city, without its local political life having been stifled, has been made a constituent part of a larger political organism. In working out this municipal system Rome laid not only the foundation of her own greatness but, transmitting the system as a principle of government to later times, contributed an all-important element to the structure of the modern free state. We must not think that the problem here solved by Rome was one easy of solution. The difficulties met and overcome by her in working out this system were very much like those met and overcome by our statesmen of a century and more ago, when they devised the federal system and determined what should be the relations of the States of our Union to the general government at Washington. Indeed, this whole federal system is nothing more than the application to states of the principles of government that Rome applied to cities.

some of these municipalities were admitted at once to full Roman citizenship, while those of others were given only a part of the rights and privileges of citizens.

To prevent any further combination among the cities, intermarriage and trade between them were forbidden. Each city was forced to conclude a separate treaty with Rome.

One noted trophy of the war set up at Rome was the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships of the Volscian city of Antium, which were attached to the orator's platform in the great forum; hence the name *Rostra*, by which this stand was ever afterwards known (sec. 394).

419. The Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.); the Humiliation of the Romans at the Caudine Forks. — In a few years after the close of the Latin contest, the Romans were at war again with their old rivals, the Samnites. The most memorable event of this struggle was the capture and humiliation of the Roman army at the celebrated Caudine Forks.

The circumstances were these. It was the year 321 B.C. The consuls having carelessly led their troops into a pent-up valley, discovered when too late that they were in a trap

and were forced to surrender. They were deprived of their arms, and then sent beneath the yoke, which was the deepest humiliation that could be inflicted upon a vanquished enemy.

The capture by the Romans of Bovianum, the chief city of the Samnites, brought the war to an end. The Samnites gave up all the conquests they had made and the old treaty relations with Rome were reestablished.



FIG. 132. — THE APPIAN WAY
(From a photograph)

The war had lasted twenty-two years. During its course Rome had added extensive territories to her domain, and had made her hold of these secure by means of colonies, fortresses, and military roads; for it was at this time that Rome began the construction of those remarkable highways that formed one of the most impressive features of her later empire. The first of these roads was begun in the year 312 B.C. under the direction of the censor Appius Claudius, and called after him the *Via Appia*. It ran from Rome to Capua, and thus brought all Campania close to the capital.

420. Alexander the Great and the Roman Generals compared. —

It was in the midst of this Second Samnite War that Alexander the Great, after having conquered a great part of Asia, died at Babylon (323 B.C.). The mutual isolation, at this comparatively late period in the history of antiquity, of the nations of the East and of the West is revealed by the doubt expressed by Livy as to a rumor of the fame of Alexander having ever reached the ears of the Romans of this time. But the contemporaneousness of the events of the Samnite War and the conquests of Alexander leads Livy to reflect whether, had Alexander lived longer and attempted to carry out the design which he is said to have formed of adding Europe to his vast empire, he would have been likely to succeed in the undertaking.

The historian arrives at the patriotic conclusion that Alexander would have found his equal in any one of the great Roman commanders of this time, and that had he delayed the enterprise until he was an old man it would have been the same. He would have found out that a Roman consul was not a Darius. Alexander owed his fame, so Livy concludes, to having died young, before fickle fortune had had time to ruin his prosperous affairs, — as they would have been ruined in Italy.⁸

421. The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.). — It was only four years after the close of their second contest with Rome, before the Samnites were again in arms and engaged in their third struggle with her for supremacy in Italy. This time they succeeded in forming against their old enemy a powerful coalition

⁸ Livy, ix. 17–19.

which embraced the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Gauls, and other nations. It was easy for them to accomplish this, for the rapid advance of the power of Rome had caused all the different peoples of the peninsula to realize that unless her encroachments were speedily checked their independence would be lost forever.

The league was soon shattered by the Roman warriors.⁴ One after another the states and tribes that had joined the alliance were chastised, and the Samnites were forced to give up the struggle. Rome left them their independence, but stripped them of all their conquests. The brave Samnite general, Gavius Pontius, who sent the Roman army beneath the yoke at the Caudine Forks, after having been led in the triumphal procession of the consul Fabius Maximus Gurgus, was ungenerously cast into the dungeon beneath the Capitoline hill and there beheaded.

422. The War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus (282-272 B.C.).—The period of eight years which followed the end of Rome's struggle with the Samnites and the beginning of her memorable war with Tarentum and Pyrrhus was filled by petty wars with the Etruscans, the Gauls, the Lucanians, and various Greek cities of Magna Græcia, and by the founding of colonies, the building of fortresses, and the extension of her military roads. Before the end of this period almost all the Greek cities of Southern Italy, save Tarentum, had fallen under the growing power of the imperial city.

Tarentum, a seaport of Calabria, was one of the most opulent of the cities of Magna Græcia. Its inhabitants were luxurious in their habits, idle and frivolous, entering into and breaking engagements with careless levity. They spent the most of their time in feasting and drinking, in lounging in the baths, in attending the theater, and in idle talk on the streets.

The Tarentines having mishandled some Roman prisoners, the Roman senate promptly sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand amends. In the theater, in the presence of a great assembly, one of the ambassadors was grossly insulted, his toga being befouled by a clownish fellow amidst the approving plaudits of a giddy crowd. The ambassador, raising the soiled garment,

⁴ The decisive battle of the war was fought at Sentinum in Umbria, 295 B.C.

said sternly, "Laugh now; but you will weep when this toga is cleansed with blood." Rome at once declared war.

The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and a cousin of Alexander the Great, who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with a small army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war elephants. He organized and drilled the effeminate Tarentines, and soon felt prepared to face the Romans.

The hostile armies met at Heraclea (280 B.C.). It is said that when Pyrrhus, who had underestimated his foe, observed the skill which the Romans evinced in forming their lines of battle, he exclaimed in admiration, "In war, at least, these men are not barbarians." The battle was won for Pyrrhus by his war elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his bravest troops. As he looked over the battlefield he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I shall be ruined"; hence the phrase, "A Pyrrhian victory."

The prudence of the victorious Pyrrhus led him to send to the Romans proposals of peace. The embassy was headed by his chief minister, Cineas, of whom Pyrrhus himself often said, "The eloquence of Cineas wins me more victories than my sword." When the senate hesitated, its resolution was fixed by the eloquence of the now old and blind Appius Claudius; "Rome," he exclaimed, "shall never treat with a victorious foe." The ambassadors were sent back to Pyrrhus with the reply that if he wanted peace he must first quit the soil of Italy. It was at this time that Cineas, in answer to some inquiries of his master respecting the Romans, drew the celebrated parallels that likened their senate to an assembly of kings, and war against such a people to an attack upon the Lernean hydra.

Pyrrhus, according to the Roman story-tellers, who most lavishly embellished this chapter of their history, was not more successful in attempts at bribery than in the arts of negotiation.

Attempting by rich presents to win the celebrated statesman Fabricius, who had been intrusted by the senate with an important embassy, the sterling old Roman replied : " If I am dishonest, I am not worth a bribe ; if honest, you must know I will not take one."

After a second victory (the battle of Asculum, 279 B.C.), as disastrous as his first, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily to aid the Greeks there, who at this time were being hard pressed by the Carthaginians. At first he was everywhere successful, but finally fortune turned against him, and he was glad to escape from the island. Recrossing the straits into Italy, he once more engaged the Romans ; but at the battle of Beneventum he suffered a disastrous and final defeat at the hands of the consul Curius Dentatus (275 B.C.). Leaving a sufficient force to garrison Tarentum, Pyrrhus now set sail for Epirus. He had scarcely embarked before Tarentum surrendered to the Romans (272 B.C.).

The surrender of Tarentum ended the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Rome was now mistress of all the peninsula south of the Arnus and the Rubicon.

423. United Italy. — We cannot make out with perfect clearness just what rights and powers Rome exercised over the various cities, tribes, and nations which she had brought under her rule.⁵ This much, however, is clear. Rome took away from all these hitherto independent states the right of making war, and thus put a stop to the bloody contentions which from time immemorial had raged between the tribes and cities of the peninsula. She thus gave Italy what, after she had laid her restraining authority upon all the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, came to be called the *Pax Romana*, " the Roman Peace." She did for Italy what in these later times England has done for India and Russia for Central Asia.

But this political union of Italy would possess no historical significance were it not for the fact that it paved the way for the

⁵ We refer here, not to those territories and communities which Rome had actually incorporated with the Roman domain, but to those communities to which was given the name of *Italian allies, socii, or civitates fœderatæ*.

social and racial unification of the peninsula. The greatest marvel of all history is how Rome, embracing at first merely a handful of peasants, could have made so much of the ancient world like unto herself in blood, in speech, in custom, and in manners. That she did so, that she did thus Romanize a large part of the peoples of antiquity, is one of the most important matters in the history of the human race.

Rome accomplished this great feat in large measure by means of her system of colonization, which was, in some respects, unlike that of any other people in ancient or in modern times. We must make ourselves familiar with some of the main features of this unique colonial system.

424. Roman Colonies and Latin Colonies. — The colonies that Rome established in conquered territories fall into two classes, known as Roman colonies and Latin colonies. Roman colonies were made up of emigrants, generally three hundred in number, who retained in the new settlement all the rights and privileges, both private and public, of Roman citizens, though of course some of these rights, as for instance that of voting in the public assemblies at Rome, could be exercised by the colonist only through his return to the capital. Such colonies were in effect permanent military camps intended to guard or to hold in subjection conquered territories. Usually it was some conquered city that was occupied by the Roman colonists, the old inhabitants either being expelled in whole or in part or reduced to a subject condition like that of the plebeians at Rome before the revolt and secession of the year 494 B.C. (sec. 401).

The colonists in their new homes organized a government which was almost an exact imitation of that of Rome, and through their own assemblies and their own magistrates managed all their local affairs. These colonies were, in a word, simply suburbs of the mother city. They were in effect just so many miniature Romes, — centers from which radiated Roman culture into all the regions round about them.

The Latin colonies were so called, not because they were founded by Latin settlers, but because their inhabitants possessed

substantially the same rights as the old Latin towns enjoyed that had retained their independence at the end of the great Latin War (sec. 418). The Latin colonist possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of Roman citizens, together with the capacity to acquire the suffrage by migrating to the capital and taking up a permanent residence there, provided he left behind in the town whence he came sons to take his place.

There is an analogy between the status of a settler in an ancient Latin colony and of a settler in a territory of our Union. When a citizen of any State migrates to a territory he loses his right of voting in a federal election, just as a Roman citizen in becoming a Latin colonist lost his right of voting in the assemblies at Rome. Then again the resident of a territory has the privilege of changing his residence and settling in a State, thereby acquiring the federal suffrage, just as the inhabitant of a Latin colony could migrate to Rome, and thus acquire the right to vote in the public assemblies there.

The Latin colonies numbered about twenty at the time of the Second Punic War. They were scattered everywhere throughout Italy, and formed, in the words of the historian Mommsen, "the real buttress of the Roman rule." They were, even to a much greater degree than the Roman colonies, active and powerful agents in the dissemination of the Roman language, law, and culture. They were Rome's chief auxiliary in her great task of making all Italy Roman.

All these colonies were kept in close touch with the capital by means of splendid military roads, the construction of which, as we have seen, was begun during the Second Samnite War (sec. 419).



FIG. 133. — GROTTA OF POSILIPO. (Near Naples)

An old Roman tunnel, about half a mile in length, still in use on the Appian Way

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pyrrhus*. LIVY, ix. 2-6, the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks; and x. 28 and 29, the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. iv-ix. IHNE, vol. i, bk. iii, chap. xviii, "Condition of the Roman People before the Beginning of the Wars with Carthage." DURUY, vol. i, chaps. xiv-xvii. TIGHE, *The Development of the Roman Constitution*, chap. v. FREEMAN, *The Story of Sicily*, chap. xiii, "Pyrrhus in Italy." PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. ii. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. x-xv. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xiii-xvii.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Roman municipal system. 2. The tales of Pyrrhus. 3. The Roman colonial system.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

(264-241 B.C.)

425. Carthage and her Empire. — Foremost among the cities founded by the Phoenicians (sec. 92) upon the different shores of the Mediterranean was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa. The favorable location of the colony upon one of the best harbors of the African coast gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. At the period which we have now reached it had grown into an imperial city, covering, with its gardens and suburbs, a district twenty-three miles in circuit. It is said to have contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants.

By the time Rome had extended her authority over Italy, Carthage held sway, through peaceful colonization or by force of arms, over the northern coast of Africa from the Greater Syrtis to the Pillars of Hercules, and possessed the larger part of Sicily as well as Sardinia. She also collected tribute from the natives of Corsica and of Southern Spain. With all its shores dotted with her colonies and fortresses and swept in every direction by her war galleys, the Western Mediterranean had become a "Phoenician lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

The government of Carthage was democratic in theory but oligarchic in fact. Corresponding to the Roman consuls, two magistrates, called "suffetes," stood at the head of the state. The senate was composed of the heads of the leading families; its duties and powers were very like those of the Roman senate.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the old Canaanitish worship of Baal. To this cruel fire-god they offered human sacrifices.

426. Rome and Carthage compared. — These two great republics, which for more than five centuries had been slowly extending their limits and maturing their powers upon the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of all antiquity, — a duel that was to last, with every vicissitude of fortune, for over one hundred years.

In material power and resources the two rival cities seemed well matched as antagonists; yet Rome had elements of strength, hidden in the character of her citizens and embodied in the principles of her government, which Carthage did not possess.

First, the Carthaginian territories, though of great extent, were widely scattered, while the Roman domains were compact and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula.

Again, the subject peoples of Carthage's empire were in race, language, and religion mostly alien to their Phœnician conquerors, and so were ready, upon the first disaster to the ruling city, to fall away from their allegiance. On the other hand, the Latin allies and the Italian confederates of Rome were close kin to her, and so through natural impulse they for the most part — although not all were satisfied with their position in the state — remained loyal to her during even the darkest periods of her struggle with her rival.

But the greatest contrast between the two states appeared in the principles upon which they were respectively based. Carthage was a despotic oligarchy. The many different races of the Carthaginian Empire were held in an artificial union by force alone, for the Carthaginians had none of the genius of the Romans for political organization and state building. The Roman state, on the other hand, as we have learned, was the most wonderful political organism that the world had ever seen. It was not yet a nation, but it was rapidly growing into one. Every free man within its limits was either a citizen of Rome, or was on the way to becoming a citizen. Rome was already the common fatherland of more than a quarter of a million of men. The Roman armies were, in large part, armies of citizen soldiers, like those Athenian warriors that fought at Marathon and at

Salamis; the armies of Carthage were armies of mercenaries like those that Xerxes led against the Greek cities. And then the Romans, in their long contests with the different races of Italy for the mastery of the peninsula, had secured such a training in war as perhaps no other people before them ever had.

As to the naval resources of the two states there existed at the beginning of the struggle no basis for a comparison. The Romans were almost destitute of anything that could be called a war navy,¹ and were practically without experience in naval warfare; while the Carthaginians possessed the largest, the best manned, and the most splendidly equipped fleet that had ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean.

And in another respect Carthage had an immense advantage over Rome. She had Hannibal. Rome had some great commanders, but she had none like him.

427. The Beginning of the War. — Lying between Italy and the coast of Africa is the large island of Sicily. At the commencement of the First Punic² War, the Carthaginians held possession of all the island save a strip of the eastern coast, which was under the sway of the Greek city of Syracuse. The Greeks and the Carthaginians had carried on an almost uninterrupted struggle through two centuries for the control of the island (see Chapter XXIV). But the Romans had not yet set foot upon it. It was destined, however, to become the scene of the most terrible encounters between the armaments of Rome and Carthage. Pyrrhus had foreseen it all. As he withdrew from the island, he remarked, "What a fine battlefield we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians."

In the year 264 B.C., on a flimsy pretext of giving protection to some friends, the Romans crossed over to the island. That act committed them to a career of foreign conquest destined to continue till their armies had made the circuit of the Mediterranean lands.

¹ Polybius, i. 20, says that they did not have a single galley when they first crossed over to Sicily. He says they ferried their army across in boats borrowed from the Greek cities of Southern Italy.

² From *Pæni*, Latin for Phœnicians, and hence applied by the Romans to the Carthaginians, as they were Phœnician colonists.

The Syracusans and Carthaginians, old enemies and rivals though they had been, joined their forces against the newcomers. The allies were defeated in the first battle, and the Roman army obtained a sure foothold in the island.

In the following year both consuls were placed at the head of formidable armies for the conquest of Sicily. A large portion of the island was quickly overrun, and many of the cities threw off their allegiance to Syracuse and to Carthage and became



FIG. 134. — PROW OF A ROMAN WAR SHIP. (From an ancient relief)

The representation shows the arrangement of the tiers of oars in a two-banked ship. In just what way the lines of rowers in triremes and quinqueremes were arranged is unknown

allies of Rome. Hiero, king of Syracuse, seeing that he was upon the losing side, forsook the Carthaginians, formed an alliance with the Romans, and ever after remained their firm friend.

428. The Romans gain their First Naval Victory (260 B.C.). — Their experience during the past campaigns had shown the Romans that if they were to cope successfully with the Carthaginians, they must be able to meet them upon the sea as well as upon the land. So they determined to build a fleet. A

Carthaginian galley, tradition says, that had been wrecked upon the shores of Italy served as a pattern.⁸ It is affirmed that within the short space of sixty days a growing forest was converted into a fleet of one hundred and twenty war galleys.

The consul G. Duillius was intrusted with the command of the fleet. He met the Carthaginian squadron near the city and promontory of Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily. Now, distrusting their ability to match the skill of their enemy in naval tactics, the Romans had provided each of their vessels with a drawbridge. As soon as a Carthaginian ship came near enough to a Roman vessel, this gangway was allowed to fall upon the approaching galley; and the Roman soldiers, rushing along the bridge, were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their enemies, in which species of encounter the former were unequaled. The result was a complete victory for the Romans.

The joy at Rome was unbounded. It inspired in the more sanguine splendid visions of maritime command and glory. The Mediterranean should speedily become a Roman lake in which no vessel might float without the consent of Rome.

429. The Romans carry the War into Africa.—The results of the naval engagement at Mylæ encouraged the Romans to

push the war with redoubled energy. They resolved to carry it into Africa. An immense Carthaginian fleet that disputed the passage of the Roman squadron was almost annihilated, and the Romans disembarked near Carthage (256 B.C.). At first the Romans were

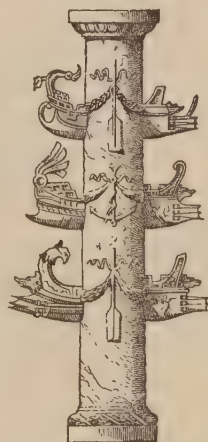


FIG. 135.—THE COLUMN OF DUILLIUS. (A restoration)

The column was decorated with the prows of captured ships

⁸ The Greek and Etruscan ships were merely triremes, that is, galleys with three banks of oars; while the Carthaginian ships were quinqueremes, or vessels with five rows of oars. The former were unable to cope with the latter, such an advantage did these have in their greater weight and height.

successful in all their operations. Regulus, one of the consuls who led the army of invasion, sent word to Rome that he had sealed up the gates of Carthage with terror. Finally, however, Regulus suffered a crushing defeat and was made prisoner. A fleet which was sent to bear away the remnants of the shattered army was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Sicily, and the shores of the island were strewn with the wreckage of between two and three hundred ships and with the bodies of a hundred thousand men.

Undismayed at the terrible disaster that had overtaken the transport fleet, the Romans set to work to build another, and made a second descent upon the African coast. The expedition, however, accomplished nothing of importance, and the fleet on its return voyage was almost destroyed, just off the coast of Italy, by a tremendous storm.

430. Regulus and the Carthaginian Embassy. — For a few years the Romans refrained from tempting again the hostile powers of the sea, and Sicily became once more the battle ground of the contending rivals. At last, having lost a great battle (battle of Panormus, 251 B.C.), the Carthaginians became dispirited, and sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate for peace. Among the commissioners was Regulus, who, since his capture five years before, had been held a prisoner in Africa. Before setting out from Carthage he had promised to return if the embassy were unsuccessful. For the sake of his own release, the Carthaginians supposed he would counsel peace, or at least urge an exchange of prisoners. But it is related that, upon arrival at Rome, he counseled war instead of peace, at the same time revealing to the senate the enfeebled condition of Carthage. As to the exchange of prisoners, he said, "Let those who have surrendered when they ought to have died, die in the land which has witnessed their disgrace."

The Roman senate, following his counsel, rejected all the proposals of the embassy; and Regulus, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his wife and friends, turned away from Rome, and set out for Carthage, to meet whatever fate the Carthaginians, in

their disappointment and anger, might plan for him. The tradition goes on to tell how, upon the arrival of Regulus at Carthage, he was confined in a cask driven full of spikes, and then left to die of starvation and pain. This part of the tale has been discredited, and the finest touches of the other portions are supposed to have been added by the story-tellers.

431. Loss of Two More Roman Fleets. — After the failure of the Carthaginian embassy the war went on for several years by land and by sea with many vicissitudes. At last, on the coast of Sicily, one of the consuls, Claudius, met with an overwhelming defeat.⁴ Almost a hundred vessels of his fleet were lost. The disaster caused the greatest alarm at Rome. Superstition increased the fears of the people. It was reported that just before the battle, when the auspices were being taken and the sacred chickens would not eat, Claudius had given orders to have them thrown into the sea, irreverently remarking, "At any rate, they shall drink." Imagination was free to depict what further evils the offended gods might inflict upon the Roman state.

The gloomiest forebodings might have found justification in subsequent events. The other consul just now met with a great disaster. He was proceeding along the southern coast of Sicily with a squadron of eight hundred merchantmen and over one hundred war galleys, the former loaded with grain for the Roman army on the island. A severe storm arising, the squadron was beaten to pieces upon the rocks. Not a single ship escaped.

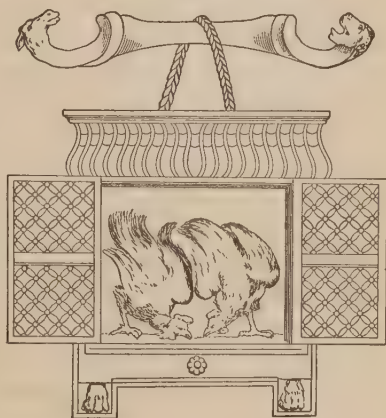


FIG. 136. — AUGUR'S BIRDS. (After a drawing based on an ancient relief)

The knowledge sought was gained by observing the birds' manner of taking their food. Their refusal to eat was an unlucky omen

⁴ In a sea fight at Drepana, 249 B.C.

The coast for miles was strewn with corpses and wreckage and ridged with vast windrows of grain cast up by the waves.

432. Close of the First Punic War (241 B.C.).—The war had now lasted for fifteen years. Four Roman fleets had been destroyed, three of which had been sunk or broken to pieces by storms. Of the fourteen hundred vessels which had been lost, seven hundred were war galleys, —all large and costly quinqueremes. Only one hundred of these had fallen into the hands of the enemy; the remainder were a sacrifice to the malign and hostile power of the waves. Such successive blows from an invisible hand were enough to blanch the faces of even the sturdy Romans. Neptune manifestly denied to the “Children of Mars” the dominion of the sea.

It was impossible during the six years following the last disaster to infuse any spirit into the struggle. In 247 B.C. Hamilcar Barca, the father of the great Hannibal, assumed the command of the Carthaginian forces, and for several years conducted the war with great ability on the island of Sicily, even making Rome tremble for the safety of her Italian possessions.

Once more the Romans determined to commit their fortune to the element that had been so unfriendly to them. A fleet of two hundred vessels was built and equipped, but entirely by private subscription; for the senate feared that public sentiment would not sustain them in levying a tax for fitting up another costly armament as an offering to the insatiable Neptune. This people’s squadron, as we may call it, was intrusted to the command of the consul Catulus. He met the Carthaginian fleet under the command of the admiral Hanno, near the Ægatian Islands, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat (241 B.C.).

The Carthaginians now sued for peace. A treaty was at length arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up all claims to the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about \$4,000,000), one third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.

One important result of the war was the crippling of the sea power of the Phœnician race, which from time immemorial had been a most prominent factor in the history of the Mediterranean lands, and the giving practically of the control of the sea into the hands of the Romans.

Selections from the Sources. — POLYBIUS, i. 10-63. Polybius, partly because he adheres rigidly to the chronological order of events, is in general somewhat confusing to young readers; but since what he says about the First Punic War is in the nature of an introduction to his main work, which begins with the 140th Olympiad (220-217 B.C.), it assumes the form of a continuous narrative and possesses on that account a very special interest. In about sixty pages the historian gives us the very best account of the war that we possess. In his sixth book (chaps. lxi-lxvi) Polybius draws a comparison between Rome and Carthage, which should be read in the present connection.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. i and ii. IHNE, vol. ii, bk. iv, chaps. i-iii. DURUY, vol. i, pp. 525-580. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. iii, chap. i (first part). HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xvii-xix. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xvii-xx. SMITH, *Carthage and the Carthaginians and Rome and Carthage*. CHURCH, *The Story of Carthage*. FREEMAN, *The Story of Sicily*, chap. xiv.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The Phœnicians as traders and colonizers in the West. 2. Struggle between the Greeks and the Carthaginians in Sicily. 3. The battle of Panormus. 4. Hamilcar Barca in Sicily. 5. Naval tactics of the Romans. 6. Social life at Carthage.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ROME AND CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

(241-218 B.C.)

I. ROME

433. The First Roman Province and the Beginning of the Provincial System (241 B.C.). — For the twenty-three years following the close of the first struggle between Rome and Carthage the two rivals strained every power and taxed every resource in preparation for a renewal of the contest.

The Romans settled the affairs of Sicily, organizing all of it, save the lands in the eastern part belonging to Syracuse, as a province of the republic. This was the first territory beyond the limits of Italy that Rome had conquered, and the Sicilian the first of Roman provinces. But as the imperial city extended her conquests, her provincial possessions increased in number and size until they formed at last a perfect cordon about the Mediterranean. Each province was governed by a magistrate sent out from the capital. This officer exercised both civil and military authority. Each province also paid an annual tribute, or tax, to Rome, something that had never been exacted of the Italian allies.

This Roman provincial system presented a sharp contrast to that liberal system of federation and incorporation that formed the very corner stone of the Roman power in Italy. There Rome had made all, or substantially all, of the conquered peoples either citizens or close confederates. Against the provincials she not only closed the gates of the city but denied to the most of them all but the mere *name* of allies. She made them practically her subjects, and administered their affairs not in their interest

but in her own. This illiberal policy contributed largely, as we shall learn, to the undoing of the Roman republic.

434. Rome acquires Sardinia and Corsica; the Second Province (227 B.C.).—The first acquisition by the Romans of lands beyond the peninsula seems to have created in them an insatiable ambition for foreign conquests. They soon found a pretext for seizing the island of Sardinia, the most ancient, and, after Sicily, the most prized of the possessions of the Carthaginians. This island in connection with Corsica, which was also seized, was formed into a Roman province (227 B.C.). With her hands upon these islands, the authority of Rome in the Western or Tyrrhenian Sea was supreme.

435. The Illyrian Corsairs are punished.—In a more legitimate way the Romans extended their influence over the seas that wash the eastern shores of Italy. For a long time the Adriatic and Ionian waters had been infested with Illyrian pirates. These buccaneers troubled not only the towns along the shores of Greece but were even so bold as to make descents upon the Italian coasts. The Roman fleet chased these corsairs from the Adriatic, and captured several of their strongholds. Rome now assumed a sort of protectorate over the Greek cities of the Adriatic coast. This was her first step in the path that was to lead her to absolute supremacy in Greece and throughout all the East.

436. War with the Gauls; Roman Authority extended to the Alps.—In the north, during this same period, Roman authority was extended from the Apennines and the Rubicon to the foot of the Alps. Alarmed at the advance of the Romans, who were pushing northward their great military road, called the Flaminian Way, Gallic tribes both sides the Alps gathered for an assault upon Rome. Intelligence of this movement among the northern tribes threw all Italy into a fever of excitement. At Rome the terror was great; for not yet had died out of memory what the city had once suffered at the hands of the ancestors of these same barbarians that were now again gathering their hordes for sack and pillage (sec. 413). An ancient prediction, found in the Sibylline Books, declared that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by Gauls. Hoping sufficiently to fulfill the prophecy and

satisfy fate, the Roman senate caused two Gauls to be buried alive in one of the public squares of the capital.

Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced into Etruria, ravaging the country as they moved southward. At Telamon they were surrounded by the Roman armies and almost annihilated (225 B.C.). Forty thousand are said to have been killed and sixty thousand taken prisoners. The Romans, taking advantage of this victory, pushed on into the plains of the Po, captured the city which is now known as Milan, and extended their authority to the foothills of the Alps. To guard the new territory two military colonies, Placentia and Cremona, were established upon the opposite banks of the Po, while the *Via Flaminia* was carried across the Apennines and extended to Ariminum, on the Adriatic.

The Gauls, thus reduced to subjection, were of course restless and resentful, and, as we shall see, were very ready to embrace the cause of Hannibal when a few years after this he descended from the Alps and appeared among them as a deliverer.

II. CARTHAGE

437. The Truceless War (241–237 B.C.). — Scarcely had peace been concluded with Rome at the end of the First Punic War, before Carthage was plunged into a still deadlier struggle, which for a time threatened her very existence. Her mercenary troops, upon their return from Sicily, revolted on account of not receiving their pay. Their appeal to the native tribes of Africa was answered by a general uprising throughout the dependencies of Carthage. The extent of the revolt shows how hateful and hated was the rule of the great capital over her subject states.

The war was unspeakably bitter and cruel. It is known in history as "The Truceless War." At one time Carthage was the only city remaining in the hands of the government. But the genius of the great Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca at last triumphed, and the authority of Carthage was everywhere restored.

438. The Carthaginians in Spain. — After the disastrous termination of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians determined

to repair their losses by new conquests in Spain. Hamilcar Barca was sent over into that country, and for nine years he devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a compact state, and to developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B.C.

Hamilcar Barca was the greatest general that up to this time the Carthaginian race had produced. As a rule, genius is not transmitted; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." Hannibal, the eldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and being thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him. He carried out the unfinished plans of Hamilcar, extended and consolidated the Carthaginian power in Spain, and upon the eastern coast founded New Carthage as the center and capital of the newly acquired territory.

439. Hannibal's Vow; he attacks Saguntum. — Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B.C., Hannibal, now twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called to be its leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar, and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

In two years Hannibal extended the Carthaginian power to the Ebro. Saguntum, a native city upon the east coast of Spain, alone remained unsubdued. The Romans, who were jealously watching affairs in the peninsula, had entered into an alliance with this city, and taken it, with some Greek cities at the foot of the Pyrenees, under their protection. Hannibal, although he well knew that an attack upon this place would precipitate hostilities with Rome, laid siege to it in the spring of 219 B.C. He was

eager for the renewal of the old contest. The Roman senate sent messengers to him forbidding him to make war upon a city that was an ally of the Roman people; but Hannibal, disregarding their remonstrances, continued the siege, and after an investment of eight months gained possession of the town.

The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the senate that they give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up his toga, said: "I carry here peace and war; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." "Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. "War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga. The "die was now cast; and the arena was cleared for the foremost, perhaps the mightiest, military genius of any race and of any time."¹

Selections from the Sources.—POLYBIUS, i. 65-68; causes of "The Truceless War." APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. x, chaps. i and ii; the origin of the Illyrians and the first Illyrian war.

References (Modern).—MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. ii and iii. IHNE, vol. ii, bk. iv, chaps. iv-vii. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. xxi and xxii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 122-126. SHUCKBURGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xx and xxi. ARNOLD, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, chap. i; "What a province was. How acquired. Use of 'client princes.' How secured and organized. Moral aspect of the Roman rule."

Topics for Special Study.—1. Origin and development of the Roman provincial system. 2. Hamilcar in Spain. 3. Changes in Rome between the First and Second Punic Wars.

¹ Smith's *Carthage and Rome*, p. 114.

CHAPTER XL

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

(218—201 B.C.)

440. Hannibal's Passage of the Alps.—The Carthaginian Empire was now all astir with preparations for the impending struggle. Hannibal was the life and soul of every movement. He planned and executed. The Carthaginian senate tardily confirmed his acts. His bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. Ambassadors were sent among the Gallic tribes on both sides of the Alps to invite them to be ready to join the army that would soon set out from Spain.

With preparations completed, Hannibal left New Carthage early in the spring of 218 B.C., with an army numbering about a hundred thousand men, and including thirty-seven war elephants. Traversing Northern Spain and crossing the Pyrenees and the Rhone, he reached the foothills of the Alps, probably under the pass known to-day as the Little St. Bernard. The



FIG. 137.—HANNIBAL

season was already far advanced, — it was October, — and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail. Day after day the army toiled painfully up the dangerous path. In places the narrow way had to be cut wider for the monstrous bodies of the elephants. Often avalanches of stone were hurled upon the trains by the hostile bands that held possession of the heights above. At last the summit was gained, and the shivering army looked down

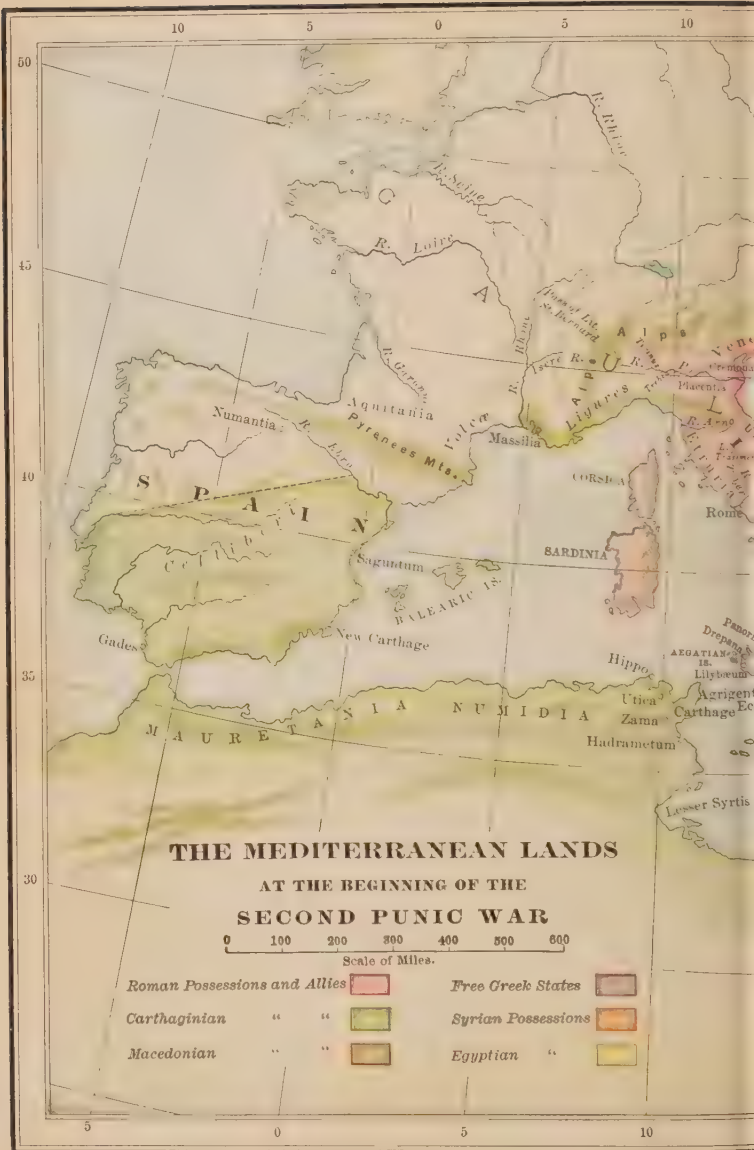
into the warm haze of the Italian plains. The sight, together with encouraging words from Hannibal, somewhat revived the drooping spirits of the soldiers. Their descent of the mountains was accomplished only after severe toil and losses. At length the thinned columns issued from the defiles of the foothills upon the plains of the Po. Of the fifty thousand men and more with which Hannibal had begun the passage, barely twenty thousand had survived the hardships and perils of the march, and these "looked more like phantoms than men."

Yet this was the pitiable force with which Hannibal proposed to attack the Roman state, — a state that at this time had on its levy lists over seven hundred thousand foot soldiers and seventy thousand horse.

441. Battle of the Ticinus, of the Trebia, and of Lake Trasimenus.—The Romans had not the remotest idea of Hannibal's plans. With war determined upon, the senate had sent one of the consuls, Tiberius Sempronius, with an army into Africa by the way of Sicily; while the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, they had directed to lead another army into Spain.

While the senate were watching the movements of these expeditions, they were startled by the intelligence that Hannibal, instead of being in Spain, had crossed the Pyrenees and was among the Gauls upon the Rhone. Sempronius was hastily recalled from his attempt upon Africa to the defense of Italy. Scipio, on his way to Spain, had touched at Massilia, and there learned of the movements of Hannibal. He sent his army on to Spain under the command of his brother, to prevent Hannibal's receiving any reënforcements from that quarter. He himself turned back, hurried into Northern Italy, and took command of the levies there. The cavalry of the two armies met upon the banks of the Ticinus. The Romans were driven from the field by the fierce onset of the Numidian horsemen. Scipio now awaited the arrival of the other consular army, which was hurrying up through Italy by forced marches.

In the battle of the Trebia (218 B.C.) the united armies of the two consuls were drawn into an ambushade and almost annihilated.





The Gauls, who had been waiting to see to which side fortune would incline, now flocked to the standard of Hannibal, and hailed him as their deliverer.

The spring following the victory at the Trebia, Hannibal led his army, now recruited by many Gauls, across the Apennines, and moved southward. At Lake Trasimenus he entrapped the Romans under the consul Gaius Flaminius between the hills and the lake, where, bewildered by a fog, the greater part of the army was slaughtered, and the consul himself was slain (217 B.C.).



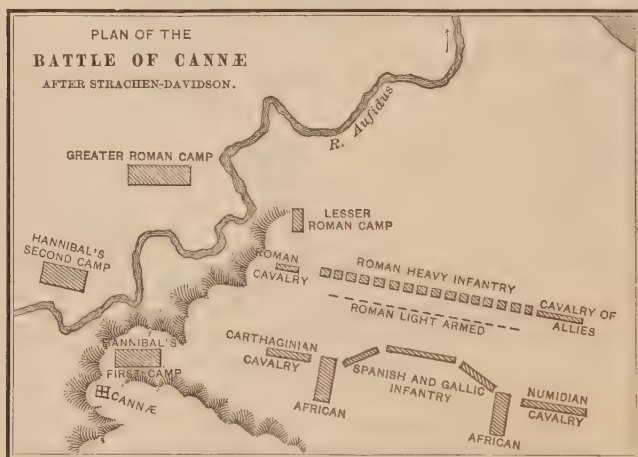
THE ROUTE OF HANNIBAL

442. Fabius "the Delayer." — The way to Rome was now open. Believing that Hannibal would march directly upon the capital, the senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. But Hannibal did not deem it wise to throw his troops against the walls of Rome. Crossing the Apennines, he pressed eastward to the Adriatic, and then marched southward into Apulia. The fate of Rome was in the hands of Fabius. Should he risk a battle and lose it, everything would be lost. He determined to adopt a more prudent policy, — to follow and annoy with his small force the Carthaginian army, but to refuse all proffers of battle.

Thus time would be gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defense.

In every possible way Hannibal endeavored to draw his enemy into an engagement. He ravaged the fields far and wide and fired the homesteads of the Italians, in order to force Fabius to fight in their defense. The soldiers of the dictator began to murmur. They called him *Cunctator* or "the Delayer." They even accused him of treachery to the cause of Rome. But nothing moved him from the steady pursuit of the policy which he clearly saw was the only prudent one to follow.

443. The Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.). — The time gained by Fabius had enabled the Romans to raise and discipline an army



that might hope to engage successfully the Carthaginian forces. Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C. these new levies, numbering eighty thousand men, under the command of the recently chosen consuls Paulus and Varro, confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannæ, on the banks of the Aufidus, in Apulia. It was the largest army the Romans had ever gathered on any battlefield. Through the skillful maneuvers of Hannibal, the Romans were completely surrounded and huddled together in a helpless mass; then they

were cut down by the Numidian cavalry. From forty to seventy thousand are said to have been slain; ¹ a few thousand were taken prisoners; only the merest handful escaped, including the consul Varro. The slaughter was so great that, according to Livy, when Mago, a brother of Hannibal, carried the news of the victory to Carthage, he, in confirmation of the intelligence, poured out on the floor of the senate house nearly a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of the Roman knights.

444. Events after the Battle of Cannæ. — The awful news flew to Rome. Consternation and despair seized the people. The city would have been emptied of its population had not the senate ordered the gates to be closed. Never did the senators display greater calmness, wisdom, prudence, and resolution. They publicly thanked the consul Varro, although he was the bitter enemy of their body, because he had not despaired of the republic.

Little by little the panic was allayed. Measures were concerted for the defense of the capital, as it was expected that Hannibal would immediately march upon the city. Swift horsemen were sent out along the Appian Way to gather information of the conqueror's movements, and to learn, as Livy expresses it, "if the immortal gods, out of pity to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name."

The leader of the Numidian cavalry, Maharbal, urged Hannibal to follow up his victory closely. "Let me advance with the horse," he said, "and in five days you shall banquet in Rome." But Hannibal refused to adopt the counsel of his impetuous general. Maharbal turned away, and with mingled reproach and impatience exclaimed, "Alas! you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use one." The great commander, while he knew he was invincible in the open field, did not think it prudent to fight the Romans behind their walls.

Hannibal now sent an embassy to Rome to offer terms of peace. The senate, true to the Appian policy never to treat with a victorious enemy (sec. 422), would not even permit the ambassadors

¹ Polybius, iii. 117, places the killed at 70,000 and the prisoners at 10,000; Livy, xxii. 49, puts the number of the slain at 42,700.

to enter the gates. Hardly less disappointed was Hannibal in the temper of the Roman confederates. All the allies of the Latin name adhered to the cause of Rome through all these trying times with unshaken loyalty.

Some tribes in the south of Italy, however, among which were the Lucanians, the Apulians, and the Bruttians, now went over to the Carthaginians. Capua also seceded from Rome and entered into an alliance with Hannibal, who quartered his army for the winter following the battle of Cannæ in the luxurious city. A little later Syracuse was lost to Rome; for it so happened that, shortly after the battle of Cannæ, Hiero, the king of the Syracusans, who loved to call himself the friend and ally of the Roman people, had died, and the government had fallen into the hands of a party unfriendly to the republic. This party now entered into an alliance with Carthage, and thus Syracuse, with a large part of Sicily, was carried over to the side of the enemies of Rome.

445. The Fall of Syracuse (212 B.C.) and of Capua (211 B.C.).—While Hannibal was resting in Capua and awaiting reënforcements, Rome was putting forth every effort and straining every resource in raising and equipping new levies to take the place of the legions lost at Cannæ.

The first task to be undertaken was the chastisement of Syracuse for its desertion of the Roman alliance. The distinguished Roman general, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, called "the Sword of Rome," was intrusted with this commission. In the year 214 B.C. he laid siege to the city. For three years it held out against the Roman forces. It is said that Archimedes, the great mathematician, rendered valuable aid to the besieged with curious and powerful engines contrived by his genius. But the city fell at last, and was given over to sack and pillage (212 B.C.). Rome was adorned with the masterpieces of Grecian art that for centuries had been accumulating in the city, one of the oldest and most renowned of the colonies of ancient Hellas. Syracuse never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it at this time by the relentless Romans.

Capua must next be punished for opening its gates and extending its hospitalities to the enemies of Rome. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the city, and two Roman armies held it in close siege. Hannibal endeavored to create a diversion in favor of his allies by making a dash on Rome, — legend says that he rang a defiant lance against one of the city gates, — but he failed to draw the legions from before Capua, and was forced to abandon the Capuans to their fate. The city soon fell, and paid the penalty that Rome never failed to inflict upon an unfaithful ally. The chief men of the place were put to death and a large part of the inhabitants sold as slaves (211 B.C.).

446. Hasdrubal attempts to carry Aid to his Brother ; Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.). — During all the years Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a desperate struggle with the Roman armies in Spain. At length he determined to leave the conduct of the war in that country to others and go to the relief of his brother, who was sadly in need of aid. Like Pyrrhus, Hannibal had been brought to realize that even constant victories won at the cost of soldiers that could not be replaced meant final defeat.

Hasdrubal followed the same route that had been taken by his brother Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to meet him. Rome made a last great effort to prevent the junction of the armies of the two brothers. At the river Metaurus, Hasdrubal's march was withstood by a large Roman army. Here his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was slain (207 B.C.). His head was severed from his body and sent to Hannibal. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal, it is said, exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I see thy fate."

447. The Romans carry the War into Africa ; Battle of Zama (202 B.C.). — The defeat and death of Hasdrubal gave a different aspect to the war. Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium. There he faced the Romans like a lion at bay. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the

war into Africa, in hopes that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defense of Carthage. Publius Cornelius Scipio,² who after the departure of Hasdrubal from Spain had quickly driven the Carthaginians out of the peninsula, led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the Carthaginian senate sent for Hannibal to conduct the war. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile

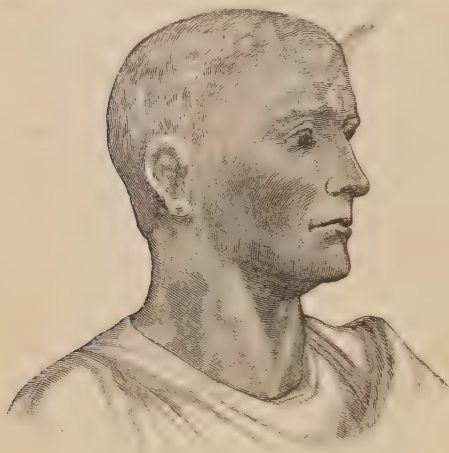


FIG. 138. — PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO
(AFRICANUS)

armies met. Hannibal here suffered his first and final defeat. His army, in which were many of the veterans that had served through all his Italian campaigns, was almost annihilated (202 B.C.).

448. The Close of the War (201 B.C.).

— Carthage was now completely exhausted, and sued for peace. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city

at the end of the First Punic War (sec. 432). She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; to surrender her war elephants, and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of four thousand talents³ at once, and two hundred talents annually for fifty years; and not, under any circumstances, to make war upon an ally of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phœnician war galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned in full sight of the citizens.

² Son of the consul mentioned on page 420.

³ About \$5,000,000. Our authorities differ as to the exact amount of this indemnity.

Such was the end of the Hannibalic War, as called by the Romans, the most desperate struggle ever waged by rival powers for empire. Scipio was accorded a grand triumph at Rome, and in honor of his achievements given the surname *Africanus*.⁴

449. Effects of the War on Italy.—Italy never entirely recovered from the calamitous effects of the Hannibalic War. During its long continuance the Roman state was almost drained of its young men of military age. Three hundred thousand Roman citizens are said to have been slain in battle, and four hundred towns and hamlets actually swept out of existence. Agriculture in some districts was almost ruined. The peasantry had been torn from the soil and driven within the walled towns. The slave class had increased, and the estates of the great land-owners had constantly grown in size, and absorbed the little holdings of the ruined peasants. In thus destroying the Italian peasantry, Hannibal's invasion and long occupancy of the peninsula did very much to aggravate all those economic evils which even before this time were at work undermining the earlier sound industrial life of the Romans, and filling Italy with a numerous and dangerous class of homeless and discontented men.

Selections from the Sources.—PLUTARCH, *Life of Fabius Maximus* and *Life of Marcellus*. LIVY, xxi. 40 and 41; Scipio's address to his soldiers before Ticinus. APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. vii, chap. viii, sec. 52; the battle of the Metaurus. POLYBIUS, iii. 50-57; the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal.

References (Modern).—MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. iv-vi. IHNE, vol. ii, bk. iv, chaps. viii-ix. DURUY, vol. i, chap. xxiii; and vol. ii, chaps. xxiv-xxvi. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 126-134. ARNOLD,

⁴ Some time after the close of the Second Punic War, the Romans, persuading themselves that Hannibal was preparing Carthage for another war, demanded his surrender of the Carthaginians. He fled to Syria, and thence to Asia Minor, where, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable foes, he committed suicide by means of poison (183 B.C.). Almost equally bitter was the cup which the ungrateful Romans pressed to the lips of the conqueror of Hannibal. After the battle of Zama, Scipio Africanus turned to politics, but soon raised about himself a perfect storm of unmerited abuse and persecution. Leaving Rome, he went into a sort of voluntary exile at his country seat near Liternum, in Campania. He died about the same time that witnessed the death of Hannibal. Upon his tomb was placed this inscription, which he himself had dictated: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess even my ashes."

History of Rome, chaps. xliii–xlvi. These chapters are generally regarded as the best account ever written of the Second Punic War. The death of the author broke off the narrative just three years before the battle of Zama. MORRIS, *Hannibal*. DODGE, *Hannibal*, chap. xliii, "The Man and the Soldier"; and chap. xliv, "Hannibal and Alexander." SMITH, *Carthage and the Carthaginians* and *Rome and Carthage*. MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, pp. 14–21. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. iv, "The Battle of the Metaurus, 207 B.C."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Passage of the Alps by Hannibal. 2. Fabius "the Delayer." 3. Hannibal before Rome. 4. The fall of Syracuse. 5. Publius Cornelius Scipio. 6. Hannibal's great battles as a study of his generalship.



FIG. 139. — ROMAN BATTLE SHIP. (From Pompeian wall painting)

CHAPTER XLI

EVENTS BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THE THIRD PUNIC WAR: CONQUEST OF THE EAST BY ROME

(201-146 B.C.)

450. Introductory. — The terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the Western Mediterranean. During the eventful half century that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking out of the Third Punic War, her authority became supreme also in the Eastern seas. In an earlier chapter in which we narrated the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed their several histories until one after another they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were successively absorbed into her growing dominions.¹ We shall therefore in this place speak of these states only in the briefest manner, simply indicating the connection of their affairs with the series of events which mark the advance of Rome to universal empire.

451. The Second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.); the Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.). — Rome came first into hostile relations with Macedonia. During the Second Punic War Philip V of that kingdom had entered into an alliance with Hannibal. He was now troubling the Greek cities which were under the protection of Rome. It was this which was the immediate cause of what is known as the Second Macedonian War.²

An army under Flamininus was sent into Greece, and on the plains of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly, the Roman legion demonstrated its superiority over the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx by

¹ See Chapter XXVII.

² The First Macedonian War (215-206 B.C.) took place during the Second Punic War and was an episode of that struggle.

subjecting Philip to a most disastrous defeat (197 B.C.). The king was forced to give up all his conquests, and the Greek cities that had been brought into subjection to Macedonia were declared free.

Flamininus read the edict of emancipation to the Greeks assembled at Corinth for the celebration of the Isthmian games (sec. 142). The decree was received with the greatest enthusiasm and rejoicing, and Flamininus was called by the grateful Greeks "the Restorer of Greek liberties." Unfortunately the Greeks had lost all capacity for freedom and self-government, and the anarchy into which their affairs soon fell afforded the Romans an excuse for extending their rule over all Greece.

452. War against Antiochus III of Syria (192-189 B.C.); the Battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.). — Antiochus the Great, of Syria (sec. 305), had at this time not only made important conquests in Asia Minor but had even carried his arms into Europe. As soon as intelligence of his movements was carried to Italy, the legions of the republic were set in motion. Some reverses caused Antiochus to retreat across the Hellespont into Asia, whither he was followed by the Romans, led by Scipio, a brother of Africanus.

At Magnesia, Antiochus was overthrown, and a large part of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Romans (190 B.C.). Not yet prepared to maintain provinces so remote from the Tiber, the senate conferred the greater part of the new territory upon their friend and ally, Eumenes, king of Pergamum (sec. 305, n. 9). This "Kingdom of Asia," as it was called, was really nothing more than a dependency of Rome, and its nominal ruler only a puppet king in the hands of the Roman senate.

Scipio enjoyed a magnificent triumph at Rome, and, in accordance with a custom that had now become popular with successful generals, erected a memorial of his deeds in his name by assuming the title of *Asiaticus*.

453. The Third⁸ Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.); the Battle of Pydna (168 B.C.). — And now Macedonia, under the leadership of Perseus, son of Philip V, was again in arms and offering defiance to Rome; but in the year 168 B.C. the Roman consul Æmilius

⁸ For the Second Macedonian War, see sec. 451.

Paulus crushed the Macedonian power forever upon the memorable field of Pydna. Twenty-two years later (146 B.C.) the country was organized as a Roman province. The great part which Macedonia as an independent state had played in history was ended.

But the battle of Pydna constitutes a great landmark not merely in the history of Macedonia: it forms a landmark in universal history as well. It was one of the decisive battles fought by the Romans in their struggle for the dominion of the world. The last great power in the East was here broken.⁴ The Roman senate was henceforth recognized by the whole civilized world as the source and fountain of supreme political wisdom and authority. We have yet to record many campaigns of the Roman legions; but these, if we except the campaigns against the Pontic king Mithradates the Great, were efforts to suppress revolt among dependent or semi-vassal states, or were expeditions aimed at barbarian tribes that skirted the Roman dominions.

454. The Achæan War and the Destruction of Corinth (146 B.C.).

— During the third war between Rome and Macedonia the cities of the Achæan League had shown themselves lukewarm in their friendship for Rome. Consequently, after the battle of Pydna, the Romans collected a thousand of the chief citizens of these federated cities and transported them to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years as hostages for the good conduct of their countrymen at home. Among these exiles was the celebrated historian Polybius, who wrote an account of all these events which we are now narrating and which mark the advance of Rome to the sovereignty of the world.

At the end of the period named, the Roman senate, in an indulgent mood, gave the survivors permission to return home. They went back inflamed by hatred towards Rome, and became active in the cities of the league in stirring up feeling against her. In Corinth particularly the people displayed the most unreasonable and vehement hostility towards the Romans. There could be but one issue of this foolish conduct, and that was war with Rome.

⁴ Mithradates the Great had not yet appeared to dispute with Rome the sovereignty of the Orient (sec. 472).

This came in the year 147 B.C. The management of the campaign soon fell to the consul Lucius Mummius. He inflicted upon the Achæan army a decisive defeat just outside the walls of Corinth, and that city fell into his hands without further resistance. The men were killed, and the women and children sold into slavery. Much of the booty was sold on the spot at public auction. Numerous works of art, invaluable statues and paintings, with which the city was crowded, were laid aside to be transported to Rome. But a large part of the rich art treasures of the city must have been destroyed by the rude and unappreciative soldiers. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the sack of the city, himself saw groups of soldiers using priceless paintings as boards on which to play their games of dice.

The despoiled city, in obedience to the command of the Roman senate, was given up to the flames, its walls were leveled, and the very ground on which the city had stood was accursed. Thus fell the brilliant city of Corinth, "the eye of Hellas," as Cicero called it, the "last precious ornament of the Grecian land once so rich in cities."⁵

The consul Mummius enjoyed a splendid triumph. "Never before nor after," says the historian Long, "was such a display of Grecian art carried in triumphal procession through the streets of Rome."

455. The General Effect upon Rome of her Conquest of the East. — In entering Greece the Romans had entered the homeland of Greek culture, with which they had first come in close contact in Magna Græcia a century earlier. This culture was in many respects vastly superior to their own, and for this reason it exerted a profound influence upon life and thought at Rome. Many among the Romans seemed to have conceived a sudden contempt for everything Roman, as something provincial and old-fashioned, and as suddenly to have become infatuated with everything Greek. Greek manners and customs, Greek modes of education, and Greek literature and philosophy

⁵ At a later period, Greece, under the name of *Achæa*, was reduced to the status of a province and joined to Macedonia.

became the fashion at Rome, so that Roman society seemed in a fair way of becoming Hellenized. And to a certain degree this did take place: Greece captive led enthralled her captor. So many and so important were the elements of Greek culture which in the process of time were taken up and absorbed by the Romans that there ceased to be such a thing in the world as a pure Latin civilization. We recognize this intimate blending of the cultures of the two great peoples of classical antiquity when we speak of the civilization of the later Roman Empire as being Græco-Roman.

But along with the many helpful elements of culture which the Romans received from the East, they received also many germs of great social and moral evils. Life in Greece and the Orient had become degenerate and corrupt. Close communication with this society, in union with other influences which we shall notice later, corrupted life at Rome. The simplicity and frugality of the earlier times were replaced by Oriental extravagance, luxury, and dissoluteness. Evidences of this decline in the moral life of the Romans, the presage of the downfall of the republic, will multiply as we advance in the history of the years following the destruction of Corinth.

456. Cato the Censor. — One of the most noted of the Romans of this time was Marcus Porcius Cato (232-147 B.C.), surnamed the Censor. His active life covered the whole of the long period the important events of which we have just been narrating, and which makes up the interval between the Second and the Third Punic War. Indeed, Cato as a young man fought in the Hannibalic War, and as an old counselor did more than any other person to bring on the third war, which resulted in the destruction of Carthage. His life is a sort of mirror in which is reflected the life of three generations at Rome.

Cato was born the son of a peasant at Tusculum, in Latium. From his father he received as an inheritance a scanty farm in the Sabine country. Near by were the cottage and farm of the celebrated Roman commander Manius Curius Dentatus, one of the popular heroes of the Samnite Wars, of whom tradition related

that, when the Samnites on one occasion sought to bribe him, they found him cooking turnips, and wanting nothing that they could give him. This worthy old Roman Cato took as his model.

As we have seen, at just this time Greek ideas and customs were being introduced at Rome. Cato set his face like a flint against all these innovations. He did everything in his power to cast discredit and contempt upon everything Greek. He visited Athens and made a speech to the people; but instead of addressing the Athenians in their own language, which he could speak well enough, he talked to them in Latin, simply in order, Plutarch says, to rebuke those of his countrymen who affected to regard the Greek language as better than the Roman. He told the Romans that Greek education and Greek literature and philosophy would bring their country to ruin. He refused to allow his little son to be taught by a Greek slave, as was coming to be the custom in the leading Roman families, but he himself attended carefully to the education of the boy.

One of the most unattractive, and, indeed, to us, repellent, sides of Cato's character is revealed in his treatment of his slaves. He looked upon them precisely as so much live stock, raising them and disposing of them just as though they were cattle. When a slave became old or worn out he sold him, and recommended such a course to others on the ground of its economy.

But notwithstanding all of Cato's faults and shortcomings his character was, according to Roman ideals, noble and admirable, and his life and services, especially those which he rendered the state as censor, were approved and appreciated by his fellow-citizens, who set up in his honor a statue with this inscription: "This statue was erected to Cato because when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, he, by introducing wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it."

Selections from the Sources. — APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. ix, excerpts ix, secs. i-iv; Flamininus forces Philip to give up his conquests and proclaims emancipation to the Greeks; and bk. xi, chap. vii, secs. 37-40; Antiochus the Great and Scipio. PLUTARCH, *Life of Titus Flamininus* and *Life of Marcus Cato*. POLYBIUS, xxxviii. 3-11; the cause of the fall of Greece.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. ii, chap. viii; on the condition of the Hellenistic East at the beginning of the Second Macedonian War. IHNE, vol. iii, bk. v, chaps. i-iv. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. iii, chaps. ii and iii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Rome under the Oligarchs*, chap. xi. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xxv-xxx. MAHAFFY, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. ii, "The Immediate Effects of the Roman Conquest upon Hellenism"; and *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, chap. xxii, "Polybius and his Age." GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East"; for a study of the life and culture of the Hellenistic world that is soon to become a part of the Roman Empire. FREEMAN, *History of Federal Government*, chaps. v-ix; for the history of the Achæan and the Ætolian League. Also the same author's *Three Chief Periods of European History*, lect. i, "Europe before the Roman Power."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The political situation in Greece and in the Orient about the beginning of the second century B.C. 2. Rhodes as a trade emporium. 3. Flamininus as "the Restorer of Greek liberties." 4. The last days of Hannibal. 5. The destruction of Corinth. 6. Rome and Greek culture. 7. Cato the Censor.

CHAPTER XLII

THE THIRD PUNIC AND NUMANTINE WARS

I. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (149-146 B.C.)

457. "Carthage should be destroyed." — The same year that Rome destroyed Corinth (sec. 454), she also blotted her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth. It will be recalled that one of the conditions imposed upon the last-named city at the close of the Second Punic War was that she should under no circumstances engage in war with an ally of Rome (sec. 448). Taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, Masinissa, king of Numidia and an ally of Rome, began to make depredations upon her territories. Carthage appealed to Rome for protection. The envoys sent to Africa by the senate to settle the dispute, unfairly adjudged every point in favor of the robber Masinissa. In this way Carthage was deprived of her lands and towns.

Chief of one of the embassies sent out was Marcus Cato the Censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage,—her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas,—he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. At the conclusion of his report to the senate, he is said, as an object lesson to the senators, to have emptied out on the floor of the chamber a quantity of large and beautiful figs, with these words, "The country where this fruit grows is only three days' sail from Rome." All of his addresses after this — no matter on what subject — he is said invariably to have closed with the declaration, "Moreover, Carthage should be destroyed."

458. Roman Perfidy. — A pretext for the accomplishment of the hateful work was not long wanting. In 150 B.C. the Carthaginians, when Masinissa made another attack upon their territory, instead of calling upon Rome, from which source their experience in the past had convinced them they could hope for neither aid nor justice, gathered an army with the resolution of defending themselves. Their forces, however, were defeated by the Numidians and sent beneath the yoke.

In entering upon this war Carthage had broken the conditions of the last treaty. The Carthaginian senate, in great anxiety, now sent an embassy to Italy to offer any reparation the Romans might demand. They were told that if they would give three hundred hostages, children of the noblest Carthaginian families, the independence of their city should be respected. They eagerly complied with this demand. But no sooner were these persons in the hands of the Romans than the consular armies, numbering eighty thousand men and secured against attack by the hostages so perfidiously drawn from the Carthaginians, crossed from Sicily into Africa, and disembarked at Utica, only ten miles from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were now commanded to give up all their arms. Still hoping to win their enemy to clemency, they complied with this demand also. Then the consuls made known the final decree of the Roman senate, — "That Carthage must be destroyed, but that the inhabitants might build a new city, provided it were located ten miles from the coast."

When this resolution of the senate was announced to the Carthaginians and they realized the baseness and perfidy of their enemy, a cry of indignation and despair burst from the betrayed city.

459. The Carthaginians prepare to defend their City. — It was resolved to resist to the bitter end the execution of the cruel decree. The gates of the city were closed. Men, women, and children set to work and labored day and night manufacturing arms. The entire city was converted into one great workshop. The utensils of the home and the sacred vessels of the temples, statues, and vases were melted down for weapons. Material was

torn from the buildings of the city for the construction of military engines. The women cut off their hair and braided it into strings for the catapults. By such labor and through such sacrifices the city was soon put in a state to withstand a siege.

When the Romans advanced to take possession of the place, they were astonished to find the people they had just so treacherously disarmed, with weapons in their hands, manning the walls of their capital and ready to bid them defiance.

460. The Destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.). — It is impossible for us here to give the circumstances of the siege of Carthage. For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the consul Scipio Æmilianus¹ succeeded in taking it by storm. When resistance ceased only fifty thousand men, women, and children, out of a population of seven hundred thousand, remained to be made prisoners. The city was set on fire, and for seventeen days the space within the walls was a sea of flames. Every trace of building which fire could not destroy was leveled, a plow was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon any one who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the destruction of the city, records that Scipio, as he gazed upon the smoldering ruins, seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated the lines of Homer :

The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.²

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city ; and by means of traders and settlers Roman civilization was spread rapidly throughout the regions that lie between the ranges of the Atlas and the sea.

461. The Significance of Rome's Triumph over Carthage. — The triumph of Rome over Carthage may perhaps be rightly given as prominent a place in history as the triumph, more than three

¹ Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. After his conquest of Carthage he was known as *Africanus Minor*.

² *Iliad*, vi. 448.

centuries before, of Greece over Persia. In each case Europe was saved from the threatened danger of becoming a mere dependency or extension of Asia.

The Semitic Carthaginians had not the political aptitude and moral energy that characterized the Italians and the other Aryan peoples of Europe. Their civilization was as lacking as the Persian in elements of growth and expansion. Had this civilization been spread by conquest throughout Europe, the germs of political, literary, artistic, and religious life among the Aryans of the continent might have been smothered, and their history have been rendered as barren in political and intellectual interests as the later history of the races of the Orient.

It is these considerations which justify the giving of the battle of the Metaurus, which marks the real turning point in the long struggle between Rome and Carthage, a place along with the battle of Marathon in the short list of the really decisive battles of the world, — battles which have seemingly decided the fate of races, of continents, and of civilizations.

II. THE NUMANTINE WAR (143–133 B.C.)

462. The Capture and Destruction of Numantia (133 B.C.). — It is fitting that the same chapter which narrates the blotting out of Carthage in Africa should tell also the story of the destruction, at the hands of the Romans, of Numantia in Spain. This was the sequel of the so-called Numantine War.

The expulsion of the Carthaginians from the Spanish peninsula (sec. 447) really gave Rome the control of only a small part of that country. The warlike native tribes — the Celtiberians and Lusitanians — of the North and the West were ready to dispute stubbornly with the newcomers the possession of the soil.

The war gathered about Numantia, the siege of which was brought to a close by Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage. Before the surrender of the place, almost all the inhabitants had met death either in defense of the walls or by deliberate suicide. The miserable remnant which the ravages

of battle, famine, pestilence, and despair had left alive were sold into slavery, and the city was leveled to the ground (133 B.C.).

The capture of Numantia was considered quite as great an achievement as the taking of Carthage. Scipio celebrated another triumph at Rome, and to his surname *Africanus* added that of *Numantinus*.

463. Spain becomes Romanized. — Though ever since the Second Punic War Spain had been regarded as forming a part of the Roman dominions, still now for the first time it really became a Roman possession.

Roman merchants and traders crowded into the country, and many colonies were established in different parts of the peninsula. As a result of this great influx of Italians, the laws, the manners, the customs, and the language of the conquerors were introduced everywhere, so that the peninsula became in time thoroughly Romanized. Thus was laid the basis of two of the Romance nations of modern times, — the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Selections from the Sources. — APPIAN, *Foreign Wars*, bk. viii, chaps. x–xiii, secs. 67–94; the growth of Carthage, Cato's visit to that city, and other matters relating to the beginning of the Third Punic War. POLYBIUS, xxxix. 3–5; the fall of Carthage. It should be remembered that Polybius here writes as an eyewitness of the scenes that he describes.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. iii, pp. 39–57. IHNE, vol. iii, bk. v, chap. v, for the third war with Carthage; and chap. vi, for the Numantine War. SMITH, *Carthage and the Carthaginians* and *Rome and Carthage*. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xxiv and xxviii–xxxi. CHURCH, *Story of Carthage*; interesting for younger classes. BOISSIER, *Roman Africa*, chap. ii, sec. 4.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The last days of Carthage. 2. Viriathus. 3. The fall of Numantia. 4. "Punic faith." 5. The effect of conquest on the Roman republic. See *Pelham*, bk. iii, chap. iii; and *How* and *Leigh*, as cited above.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC: FIRST PERIOD

(133-78 B.C.)

464. Introductory. — We have now traced in broad outlines the development of the government and institutions of republican Rome, and have told briefly the story of that wonderful career of conquest which made the little Palatine city first the mistress of Latium, then of Italy, and finally of the greater part of the Mediterranean world.

It is now our less pleasant task to follow the declining fortunes of the republic through the last century of its existence. This was a period of transition and revolution. During this time many agencies were at work undermining the institutions of the republic and paving the way for the empire. What these agencies were will best be made apparent by a simple narration of the events and transactions that crowd this memorable period of Roman history.

465. The First Servile War in Sicily (134-132 B.C.). — With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between masters and slaves, — what is known as the First Servile War. The condition of affairs in that island was the legitimate result of the Roman system of slavery, which was itself a chief cause of the economic and social decline of republican Rome.

The captives that the Romans took in war they usually sold into servitude. The great number of prisoners furnished by their numerous conquests and particularly by their subjugation of the East, had caused slaves to become a drug in the slave markets of the Mediterranean world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor and then to buy others, than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In

case of sickness they were often left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some estates were worked by as many as twenty thousand slaves. That each owner might know his own, the poor creatures were branded like cattle. What makes all this the more revolting is the fact that many of these slaves were in every way the peers of their owners, and often were their superiors. The fortunes of war alone had made the one servant and the other master.

The wretched condition of the slaves in Sicily, where the slave system exhibited some of its worst features, and the cruelty of their masters at last drove them to revolt. The insurrection spread throughout the island until two hundred thousand slaves were in arms, — if axes, reaping hooks, staves, and roasting spits may be called arms. Well knowing that they could expect no mercy at the hands of their masters, the slaves held out in their mountain strongholds to the bitter end. Maddened by hunger, they killed their women and children for food. At the last extremity many committed suicide. Those who survived to be made prisoners were tortured, flung over precipices, or crucified, — crucifixion being a favorite form of punishment meted out by the Romans to rebellious slaves. Twenty thousand of these unhappy people are said to have been lifted up on crosses. Sicily was thus pacified, and remained quiet for nearly a generation.¹

466. The Public Lands. — In Italy itself affairs were in a scarcely less wretched condition than in Sicily. At the bottom of a large part of the social and economic troubles here was the public land system, to which we have had occasion already to refer as the cause of unrest and bitter complaint on the part of the poorer classes at the beginning of the first century of the republic (sec. 403).

Since that time matters, instead of mending, had constantly grown worse. The wide conquests of the Romans and the accompanying confiscation of large tracts of the lands of the subjugated

¹ In the year 102 B.C. another insurrection of the slaves broke out in the island, which it required three years to quell. This last revolt is known as the Second Servile War.

peoples had increased enormously the public domain of the Roman state. But these fresh acquisitions of land benefited, for the most part, only the rich class at Rome. They alone had the capital necessary to stock with cattle and slaves the new lands, and hence they were the sole "occupiers" of them. The small farmers everywhere, too, were being ruined by the unfair competition of slave labor, and their little holdings were passing by purchase, and often by fraud or barefaced robbery, into the hands of the great proprietors.

The Licinian Laws (sec. 415), it is true, made it illegal for any person to occupy more than a prescribed amount of the public lands; but this law had long since become a dead letter. The greater part of the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than two thousand persons. These great landowners found stock raising more profitable than working the soil. Hence Italy had been made into a great sheep pasture. The dispossessed peasants, left without home or employment, crowded into the great cities, congregating especially at Rome, where they lived in vicious indolence.

Thus, largely through the workings of the public land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes, which are variously designated as the Rich and the Poor, the Possessors and the Non-Possessors, — the Optimates, the "Best," and the Populares, the "People." We hear nothing more of patricians and plebeians. The clan aristocracy of the earlier state (sec. 380) had given place to a wealth aristocracy, or rather had been absorbed by it. This later aristocracy was, in some respects, particularly in the elements that composed it, like the English aristocracy of the present day.

467. The Reforms of the Gracchi.— The most noted champions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, "You are called 'lords of the earth' without possessing a single

clod to call your own." The people made him tribune (134-133 B.C.); and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief. It took away from Possessors without sons all the land they held over five hundred jugera; Possessors with one son might hold seven hundred and fifty jugera, and those with two sons one thousand.

As the end of his term of office drew near, Tiberius stood again for the tribunate.² The nobles combined to defeat him. Foreseeing that he would not be reëlected, Tiberius, it would seem, had resolved to use force upon the day of voting. His partisans were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the forum and their bodies thrown into the Tiber (133 B.C.). This was the first time that the Roman forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Gaius Gracchus now came forward to assume the position made vacant by the death of his brother Tiberius. How he brooded over his brother's fate is shown by the story that tells how he had a dream in which the spirit of Tiberius seemed to address him thus: "Gaius, why do you delay? There is no escape; the same life for both of us, and the same death in defense of the people, is our destiny."

In the year 124 B.C. Gaius was elected tribune. Once in the tribuneship, he entered with energy upon the work of reform. He won the affection of the poor of the city by carrying a law which provided that every Roman citizen, on personal application, should be given corn from the public granaries at half or less than half the market price. Gaius could not have foreseen all the evils to which this law, which was in effect what we know as a poor law, was destined to lead. It led eventually to the free distribution of corn to all citizens who made application for it. Very soon a large proportion of the population of Rome was living in vicious indolence and feeding at the public crib (sec. 584).

As a further measure of relief for the poor, Gaius established new colonies in Italy, and sent six thousand settlers, comprising

² This was unconstitutional, for at this time a tribune could not hold his office for two consecutive years.

Italians as well as Roman citizens, to the site of Carthage, and founded there a colony called Junonia. This was the first citizen colony established by the Romans outside of Italy.

Another measure now proposed by Gaius alienated a large section of his followers and paved the way for his downfall. This proposal seemingly was that all the Latins should be made full Roman citizens, and that the Italian allies should be given the rights and privileges then enjoyed by the Latins (sec. 470). Gaius was in this matter out of touch with his times. The Romans were unwilling to confer the rights of the city upon those still without them for the reason that citizenship now, since the whole world was paying tribute in one form or another to the ruling class in the Roman state, was something "valuable. The proposal was defeated, and the popularity of Gaius visibly declined.

The aristocratic or senatorial party, who bitterly hated Gaius, now schemed for his downfall. The struggle between the factions soon issued in riot and fighting. Gaius sought death by a friendly sword, and three thousand of his adherents were massacred (121 B.C.). The consul Lucius Opimius had offered for the head of Gaius its weight in gold. "This is the first instance in Roman history of head money being offered and paid, but it was not the last" (Long).

The common people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs to their cause, and their memory was preserved in later times by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

468. The War with Jugurtha (111-106 B.C.). — After the death of the Gracchi there seemed no one left to resist the heartless oppressions and to denounce the scandalous extravagances of the aristocratic party. The laws of the Gracchi respecting the public lands were annulled or were made of no effect. Italy fell again into the hands of a few overrich landowners. The provinces were plundered by the Roman governors, who squandered their ill-gotten wealth at the capital. The votes of senators and the decisions of judges, the offices at Rome and the places in the

provinces, — everything pertaining to the government had its price, and was bought and sold like merchandise. Affairs in Africa at this time illustrate how Roman virtue and integrity had declined since Fabricius indignantly refused the gold of Pyrrhus (sec. 422).

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had seized all that country, having put to death the rightful rulers of different provinces, who had been confirmed in their possessions by the Romans at the close of the Punic wars. Commissioners sent from Rome to look into the matter were bribed by Jugurtha. Finally, the Numidian robber, in carrying out some of his high-handed measures, put to death some Italian merchants. War was immediately declared by the Roman senate, and the consul Bestia was sent into Africa with an army to punish the insolent usurper. Bestia sold himself to Jugurtha, and instead of chastising him confirmed him in his stolen possessions. We should naturally suppose that the senate would have meted out proper punishment to the mercenary consul upon his return. But the prudent general had taken along with him the president of that body and had divided with him the spoils.

The indignation of the people, who had good reason to suspect the real state of affairs, was great. They demanded that Jugurtha, with the promise of immunity to himself, should be invited to Rome and encouraged to disclose the whole transaction, in order that those who had betrayed the state for money might be punished. Jugurtha came; but the consul and president bribed one of the tribunes to prohibit the king from giving his testimony.

Now it so happened that there was in Rome at this time a rival claimant of the Numidian throne, who at this very moment was urging his claims before the senate. Jugurtha caused this rival to be assassinated. As he himself was under a safe-conduct, the senate could do nothing to punish the audacious deed and to resent the insult to the state save by ordering the king to leave Rome at once. As he passed the gates, it is said that he looked scornfully back upon the capital, and exclaimed, "O venal city! thou wouldst sell thyself if thou couldst find a purchaser!"

Upon the renewal of the war another Roman army was sent into Africa, but was defeated and sent beneath the yoke. Finally,

in the year 106 B.C., the war was brought to a close by Gaius Marius, a man who had risen to the consulship from the lowest ranks of the people. Under him fought a young nobleman named Sulla, of whom we shall hear much hereafter. Marius celebrated a grand triumph at Rome. Jugurtha, after having graced the triumphal procession, in which he walked with his hands bound with chains, was thrown into the Mamertine dungeon beneath the Capitoline hill, where he died of starvation.

469. Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones (113-101 B.C.).—The war was not yet ended in Africa before terrible tidings came to Rome from the north. Two mighty nations of "horrible barbarians," three hundred thousand strong in fighting men, coming whence no one could tell, had invaded and were now desolating the Roman province of Gaul, and might any moment cross the Alps and sweep down into Italy.

The mysterious invaders proved to be two Germanic tribes, the Teutones and Cimbri, the vanguard of that great German migration which was destined to change the face and history of Europe. These intruders were seeking new homes, and were driven on, it would almost seem, by a blind and instinctive impulse. They carried with them in rude wagons all their property, their wives, and their children. The Celtic tribes of Gaul were no match for the newcomers, and fled before them as they advanced. Several Roman armies beyond the Alps were cut to pieces. The terror at Rome was only equaled by that occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls three centuries before. The Gauls were terrible enough; but now the conquerors of the Gauls were coming.

Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was looked to by all as the only man who could save the state in this crisis. He was reëlected to the consulship, and intrusted with the command of the armies. Accompanied by Sulla as one of his most skillful lieutenants, Marius hastened into Northern Italy. The barbarians had divided into two bands. The Cimbri were to cross the Eastern Alps and join in the valley of the Po the Teutones, who were to force the defiles of the Western or Maritime Alps. Marius determined to prevent the union of the barbarians and to crush each band separately.

Anticipating the march of the Teutones, Marius hurried into Southern Gaul and sat down in a fortified camp to watch the movements of the barbarians. Unable to storm the Roman position, the Teutones resolved to leave the enemy in their rear and push on into Italy. For six days and nights the endless train of men and wagons rolled past the camp of Marius. The barbarians jeered at the Roman soldiers, and asked them if they had any messages they wished to send to their wives; if so, they would bear them, as they would be in Rome shortly. Marius allowed them to pass by, and then, breaking camp, followed closely after. Falling upon them at a favorable moment, he almost annihilated the entire host.⁸ Two hundred thousand barbarians are said to have been slain. Marius heaped together and burned the spoils of the battlefield. While engaged in this work, the news was brought to him of his reelection as consul for the fifth time. This was illegal; but the people felt that he must be kept in the field.

Marius now recrossed the Alps, and, after visiting Rome, hastened to meet the Cimbri, who were entering the northeastern corner of Italy. He was not a day too soon. Already the barbarians had defeated the Roman army under the patrician Catulus, and were ravaging the rich plains of the Po. The Cimbri, uninformed as to the fate of the Teutones, now sent an embassy to Marius to demand that they and their kinsmen be given lands in Italy. Marius sent back in reply, "The Teutones have got all the land they need on the other side of the Alps." The devoted Cimbri were soon to have all they needed on this side.

A terrible battle almost immediately followed at Vercellæ (101 B.C.). The barbarians were drawn up in an enormous hollow square, the men forming the outer ranks being fastened together with ropes, to prevent their lines from being broken. This proved their ruin. More than one hundred thousand were killed, and sixty thousand taken prisoners to be sold as slaves in the Roman slave markets. Marius was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

The fate of these two nations that were wandering over the face of the earth in search of homes forms one of the most

⁸ In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, fought 102 B.C.

pathetic tales in all history. The almost innumerable host of wanderers, men, women, and children, now "rested beneath the sod, or toiled under the yoke of slavery: the forlorn hope of the German migration had performed its duty; the homeless people of the Cimbri and their comrades were no more" (Mommsen). Their kinsmen yet behind the Danube and the Rhine were destined to exact a terrible revenge for their slaughter.

470. The Social or Marsic War (91-89 B.C.).—Scarcely was the danger of the barbarian invasion past before Rome was threatened by another and greater evil arising within her own borders. At this time all the free inhabitants of Italy were embraced in three classes, — *Roman citizens*, *Latins*, and *Italian allies*. The Roman citizens included the inhabitants of the capital, of certain towns called municipia, and of the Roman colonies (sec. 424), besides the dwellers on isolated farms and the inhabitants of villages scattered everywhere throughout Italy.

The Latins comprised the inhabitants of the Latin colonies (sec. 424). The name had by this time lost all racial meaning and denoted merely the political status of those bearing it. What installment of the rights of the city this class enjoyed we have already learned. We need here simply recall to mind that they possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of the city, and had a special capacity, through meeting certain conditions, of acquiring full Roman citizenship. They were called allies, — "allies of the Latin name."

The third class, the Italian allies, was made up of those conquered peoples that Rome had excluded wholly from the rights of the city. If we should say that these so-called "allies" were the subjects of the Roman burgess body, we should describe in a word very nearly their actual status.

The Social or Marsic War (as it is often called on account of the prominent part taken in the insurrection by the warlike Marsians) was a struggle that arose from the demands of the Italian allies for the privileges of Roman citizenship. Their demands were stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratic and the popular party at Rome. Some, however, recognized the justice of these

claims of the Italians.⁴ The tribune Livius Drusus championed their cause, but he was killed by an assassin. The Italians now flew to arms. They determined upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica.

The government of the new state was modeled after that at Rome. Thus in a single day a large part of Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome. The Etrurians and the Umbrians, however, continued loyal. The Latin colonies or towns, some forty in number, together with the most of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, also remained faithful.



FIG. 140. — COIN OF
THE ITALIAN CON-
FEDERACY

The Sabellian bull goring
the Roman wolf

The greatness of the danger aroused all the old Roman courage and patriotism. Aristocrats and democrats hushed their quarrels and fought bravely side by side for the endangered life of the republic.

The war lasted three years and was waged in almost every part of Italy, since the towns and communities that had rebelled were scattered throughout the peninsula.

The war was finally brought to an end rather by prudent concessions on the part of Rome than by fighting. In the year 90 B.C., alarmed by signs of disaffection in certain of the communities that up to this time had remained faithful, Rome granted the franchise of the city to all Italian communities that had not declared war against her or had already laid down their arms. The following year the full rights of the city were offered to all Italians who should within two months appear before a Roman magistrate and express a wish for the franchise. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war.⁵

⁴ It should be carefully noted that the opposition to the admission of strangers to the rights of the city was no longer based on religious grounds, as was the case in the earliest days of patrician Rome (sec. 418). The opposition now arose simply from the selfish determination of a privileged class in the Roman state to retain its monopoly rights and immunities.

⁵ After the close of the war and as an immediate consequence of it, the rights that had up to this time been enjoyed by the Latin towns were conferred upon all the cities between the Po and the Alps.

471. **Comments on the Political Results of the Social War.** —

Thus as an outcome of the war practically all the freemen of Italy south of the Po were made equal in civil and political rights. This was a matter of great significance. "The enrollment of the Italians among her own citizens deserves to be regarded," declares the historian Merivale, "as the greatest stroke of policy in the whole history of the republic." This wholesale enfranchisement of Latin and Italian allies more than doubled the number of Roman burgesses. The census for the year 70 B.C. gives the number of citizens as 900,000, as against 394,336 about a generation before the war.⁶

This equalization of the different classes of the Italian peninsula was simply a later phase of that movement in early Rome which resulted in the equalization of the two orders of the patricians and plebeians (Chapter XXXVI). But the purely political results of the earlier and those of the later revolution were very different. At the earlier time those who demanded and received the franchise were persons living either in Rome or in its immediate vicinity, and consequently able to exercise the acquired right to vote and to hold office.

But now it was very different. These new-made citizens were living in towns and villages or on farms scattered all over Italy, and of course very few of them could ever go to Rome, either to participate in the elections there, to vote on proposed legislation, or to become candidates for the Roman magistracies. Hence the rights they had acquired were, after all, politically barren. But no one was to blame for this state of things. Rome had simply outgrown her city constitution and her system of primary assemblies (sec. 379). She needed for her widening empire a representative system like ours; but representation was a political device far away from the thoughts of the men of those times.

As a result of the impossibility of the Roman citizens outside of Rome taking part, as a general thing, in the meetings of the popular assemblies at the capital, the offices of the state fell into

⁶ Consult table on page 492.

the hands of those actually living in Rome or settled in its immediate neighborhood. Since the free, or practically free, distribution of corn and the public shows were drawing to the capital from all quarters crowds of the poor, the idle, and the vicious, these assemblies were rapidly becoming simply mobs controlled by noisy demagogues and unscrupulous military leaders aiming at the supreme power in the state.

This situation brought about a serious division in the body of Roman citizens. Those of the capital came to regard themselves as the real rulers of the empire, as they actually were, and looked with disdain upon those living in the other cities and the remoter districts of the peninsula. They alone reaped the fruits of the conquered world. At the same time the mass of outside passive citizens, as we may call them, came to look with jealousy upon this body of pampered aristocrats, rich speculators, and ragged, dissolute clients and hangers-on at Rome. They became quite reconciled to the thought of power passing out of the hands of such a crowd and into the hands of a single man. The feelings of men everywhere were being prepared for the revolution that was to overthrow the republic and bring in the empire.

472. Mithradates the Great establishes an Empire in the Orient.

— While the Social War was still in progress in Italy a formidable enemy of Rome appeared in the East. Mithradates VI, surnamed the Great, came to the throne of the little kingdom of Pontus⁷ in the year 120 B.C. His extraordinary career impressed deeply the imagination of his time, and his deeds and fame have come down to us disguised and distorted by legend. His bodily frame and strength were immense and his activity untiring. He could carry on conversation, it is said,



FIG. 141. — MITHRADATES
THE GREAT

in twenty-two of the different languages of his subjects. But Mithradates, notwithstanding the fact that his mother was a

⁷ See sec. 302, n. 3.

Syrian Greek and he himself was familiar with Greek culture, was, in his instincts and impulses, a typical Oriental barbarian.

In the course of a few years Mithradates had pushed out the boundaries of his little hereditary kingdom until it almost encircled the Euxine, which became practically a Pontic sea. He now audaciously encroached upon the Roman possessions in Asia Minor. The natives of the Roman province of Asia,⁸ oppressed by Roman speculators, tax farmers, usurers, and corrupt magistrates, hailed him as their deliverer.

In order to make secure his power in Asia, Mithradates now gave orders that on a certain day every Italian, without distinction of age or sex, should be put to death. This savage order was almost everywhere carried out to the letter. Men, women, and children, all of the Italian name, were massacred. The number of victims of the wholesale slaughter is variously estimated at from eighty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand.

Mithradates now turned his attention to Europe and sent his army into Greece. Athens, hoping for the revival of her old empire, and the most of the other Greek cities, renounced the authority of Rome and hailed Mithradates as the protector of Hellenism against the barbarian Romans.

Thus in the space of a few months was the power of the Romans destroyed throughout all the East, and the boundaries of their empire pushed back virtually to the Adriatic. *JB*

473. Marius and Sulla contend for the Command in the War against Mithradates. — The Roman senate at last bestirred itself. Its preoccupation with affairs in Italy had kept it from giving that attention to the proceedings of Mithradates that the gravity of the situation he was creating demanded. Every exertion was now made to raise and equip an army for the recovery of the East. But the Marsic struggle had drained the treasury and impoverished all Italy. The money needed for equipping the expedition could be raised only by the extraordinary measure of

⁸ In the year 133 B.C. King Attalus III of Pergamum (sec. 305, n. 9) had willed his kingdom to the Roman people. The Romans had accepted the bequest and made the territory into a province under the name of Asia.

selling at public auction some land belonging to the state within the city limits.

A contest straightway arose between Marius and Sulla for the command of the forces. The senate conferred this upon Sulla, who at that time was consul. Marius was furious. By violent means he succeeded in carrying a measure in an assembly of the people whereby the command was taken away from Sulla and given to himself.

Two tribunes were sent to demand of Sulla, who was still in Italy, the transfer of the command of the legions to Marius; but the messengers were killed by the soldiers, who were devotedly attached to their commander. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed.

Sulla, after making some changes in the constitution in the interest of the oligarchy, among which was a provision which prevented the popular assemblies considering any measure unless it had been first approved by the senate, embarked with the legions to meet Mithradates in the East (88 B.C.).

474. Marius massacres the Aristocrats (87 B.C.). — Leaving Sulla to carry on the Mithradatic war,⁹ we must first follow the fortunes of the proscribed Marius. Returning from Africa, whither he had fled, Marius joined the consul Cinna in an attempt to crush by force the senatorial party. Rome was cut off from her food supplies and starved into submission.

Marius now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Gnæus Octavius, who represented the aristocrats, was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the rostra. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome, — a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the hands of the revengeful Marius. If he refused to return

⁹ This was what is known as the First Mithradatic War (88-84 B.C.).

the greeting of any citizen, that sealed his fate; he was instantly dispatched by the soldiers who awaited their master's nod. The bodies of the victims lay unburied in the streets. Sulla's house was torn down, and he himself declared a public enemy.

As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. Marius was now consul for the seventh time. He enjoyed his seventh consulship only thirteen days, being carried away by death in the seventy-first year of his age (86 B.C.). "He had lived too long for his fame."

475. The Proscriptions of Sulla (82 B.C.). — With the Mithradatic war ended, Sulla wrote to the senate, saying that he was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party, — his own and the republic's foes. The terror and consternation produced at Rome by this letter were increased by the accidental burning of the Capitol. The Sibylline Books, which held the secrets of the fate of Rome, were consumed. This accident awakened the most gloomy apprehensions. Such an event, it was believed, could only foreshadow the most direful calamities to the state.

The returning army from the East landed in Italy (83 B.C.). After much hard fighting Sulla entered Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the rostra. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and then grew rapidly

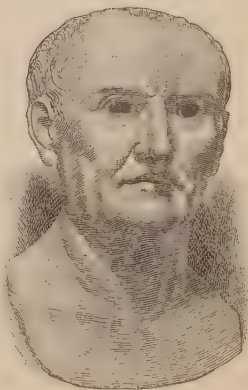


FIG. 142. — MARIUS
(Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered simply because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble, coming into the forum and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas ! my villa has proved my ruin." The infamous Catiline (sec. 486), by having the name of a brother placed upon the fatal roll, secured his property. Julius Cæsar, at this time a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of his relationship to Marius, but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him ; as he did so, however, he said warningly, and, as the event proved, prophetically, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

The number of victims of these proscriptions has been handed down as forty-seven hundred. Almost all of these must have been men of wealth or of special distinction on account of their activity in public affairs. Even the dead did not escape. The tomb of Marius was broken open and the ashes thrown into the Anio.

The property of the proscribed was confiscated and sold at public auction, or virtually given away by Sulla to his favorites. Estates were purchased in some instances for a mere fraction of their real value. The bases of some of the most colossal fortunes that we hear of a little after this were laid during these times of proscription and robbery.

This reign of terror bequeathed to later times a terrible "legacy of hatred and fear." Its awful scenes haunted the Romans for generations, and at every crisis in the affairs of the commonwealth the public mind was thrown into a state of painful apprehension lest there should be a repetition of these frightful days of Sulla.

Nor did Italy ever recover from the economic blight that this civil war and the mutual proscriptions of the contending parties brought upon large regions of the peninsula. In the wasted districts the great slave farms grew in size, and everywhere brigandage increased.

476. Sulla made Dictator, with Power to remodel the Constitution (82 B.C.). — The senate now passed a decree which approved and confirmed all that Sulla had done, and made him dictator during his own good pleasure. This was the first time a dictator

had been appointed since the war with Hannibal, and the first time the dictatorial authority had ever been conferred for a longer period than six months. The decree further gave Sulla the power of life and death without the right of appeal over every person in the state, and further invested him with authority to make laws and to remodel the constitution in any way that might seem to him necessary and best. The power here given Sulla was like that with which the decemvirs had been clothed nearly four centuries before this time (sec. 406).

477. The Sullan Constitution. — The chief political aim of the Gracchan reforms had been the diminishing of the power of the senate and the placing of all authority, legislative and administrative, in the assemblies of the people, led and controlled by the college of tribunes.

The reforms which Sulla, invested with the full power of the state, now effected had for their chief aim the restoration of the authority of the senate,¹⁰ which recent revolutions and circumstances had reduced almost to a nullity, and the lessening of the power of the tribunate, which office during the centuries since its establishment had gradually absorbed one function after another until it was now the most important of all the magistracies of the state.

The changes and reforms effected by Sulla were, almost all of them, wise and reasonable, and mark him as a man of great ability and of statesmanlike views and aims. It is difficult for us

¹⁰ Among the changes wrought in the constitution by Sulla were the following: (1) the number of senators was about doubled, and the senate from this time on appears to have embraced between five and six hundred members; (2) the number of criminal courts was increased, and the administration of criminal justice was placed in the hands of the senatorial party; (3) no measure was to be presented by a tribune to any popular assembly without the approval of the senate having been secured beforehand; (4) the power of the college of tribunes was still further diminished by the imposition of a heavy fine for the abuse by a tribune of the right of intercession; (5) it was decreed that no person should hold the consulship for two successive years (which was designed to prevent such a protracted consulship as Marius'), and further that no one should have the right to stand for the consulship who had not previously held the offices of quæstor and prætor. (The ages of eligibility to these several offices were, for the quæstorship, thirty; for the prætorship, forty; and for the consulship, forty-three.)

to believe the Sulla of the days of proscription and the Sulla of these days of constitution making to be one and the same man.

Yet Sulla's constitution, wisely as it had been conceived, broke down utterly in almost every part within ten years. But the fault was not with the constitution, but with the men intrusted with the working of it. Mr. James Bryce, in his commentary on our institutions, has said of the American people that they would make any sort of a constitution work well. Just the opposite was true of the senatorial party at Rome who were intrusted with the working of the Sullan constitution. They were intellectually unable and morally unfit to work any kind of a constitution. We need not then be surprised at the quick breakdown of the constitution which Sulla placed in their hands.

478. The Abdication and Death of Sulla; Result of his Rule. — After having exercised the unlimited power of his office for three years, Sulla, to the surprise of everybody, suddenly resigned the dictatorship and went into retirement. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.). The monument erected to his memory bore this inscription, which he himself had composed: "None of my friends ever did me a kindness, and none of my enemies ever did me a wrong, without being fully requited."

One important result of the reign of Sulla as an absolute dictator was the accustoming of the people to the idea of the rule of a single man. His short dictatorship was the prelude to the reign of the permanent imperator.

The parts of the old actors in the drama were now all played to the end. But the plot deepens, and new men appear upon the stage to carry on the new, which are really the old, parts.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Tiberius Gracchus* and *Life of Gaius Marius*. APPIAN, *The Civil Wars*, bk. i, chap. xi, sec. 100, Sulla remodels the constitution; and chap. vii, secs. 55-63, the civil war between Marius and Sulla.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. iv, bk. v, chaps. i-iii; and vol. v, bk. v, chaps. viii-xi. IHNE, vols. iv and v (chaps. xvii-xxiii); the greater part of the fourth volume is devoted to an account of "the constitution, laws, religion, and magistrates of the Roman people." MERIVALE, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, chaps. i-v. FREEMAN, *The Story of*

Sicily, chap. xvi, "Sicily a Roman Province"; first part of the chapter, on the Servile War; and *Historical Essays* (Second Series), "Lucius Cornelius Sulla." BEESLY, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 201-240. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xxxiii-xliv. GILMAN, *Story of Rome*, chaps. xii and xiii. ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, chap. vi, secs. 85-97. RAMSAY and LANCIANI, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, chap. vii; for a summary of the Agrarian Laws. LONG, *The Decline of the Roman Republic*; for consultation and reference. FOWLER, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chap. ix.

Topics for Special Study.—1. Roman slavery. 2. Gaius Gracchus. 3. The Cimbri and Teutones. 4. Tales illustrating the wrongs of the Italian allies. 5. Mithradates the Great. 6. The Sullan constitution.



CHAPTER XLIV

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC; SECOND PERIOD

(78-31 B.C.)

479. Sertorius in Spain ; the War against him (80-72 B.C.).—Spain had become a sort of refuge for the exiled Marians. The situation there now was this. The Lusitanians, the martial people of the province of Farther Spain, had asserted their independence and were in arms against Rome. They had invited the Marian exile, Quintus Sertorius, to come to their help. The invitation had been accepted, and Sertorius was at this moment their leader.

Sertorius was a man of positive genius, one of the few men of great parts that the savage proscriptions of the contending parties at Rome had left alive. His camp was a sort of Adulam's cave,¹ where was collected a great crowd of the outlawed adherents of the Marian party and men dissatisfied with the new order of things at Rome. In the year 76 B.C. Gnæus Pompey, a rising young general of the aristocrats, upon whom the title of "Great" had already been conferred as a reward for crushing the Marian party in Sicily and Africa, was sent out to Spain to perform a similar service there. For several years the war was carried on with varying fortunes. At times the power of Rome in the peninsula seemed on the verge of utter extinction. Finally the brave Sertorius, a price having been placed on his head, was treacherously killed, and then the whole of Spain was quickly regained. Pompey settled the affairs of the country, putting in power those who would be not only friends and allies of the Roman state but also his own personal adherents. How he used these men as instruments of his ambition we shall learn a little later.

¹ See 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2.

480. Spartacus; War of the Gladiators (73-71 B.C.). — While Pompey was subduing the Marian faction in Spain, a new danger broke out in the midst of Italy. Gladiatorial combats had become at this time the favorite sport of the amphitheater. At Capua was a sort of training school from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments.² In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his companions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented persons from every quarter. Their number at length increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. For three years they defied the power of Rome, and even gained control of the larger part of Southern Italy. Four Roman armies sent against them were cut to pieces.

The general Marcus L. Crassus finally inflicted upon the insurgents a decisive defeat in a battle at the Silarus, in Lucania. Spartacus himself was slain; but five thousand of his followers escaped and fled towards the Alps. This fleeing band was met and annihilated by Pompey, who was just returning from Spain.

The slaves that had taken part in the revolt were hunted through the mountains and forests and exterminated like dangerous beasts. The Appian Way was lined with six thousand crosses bearing aloft as many bodies, — a terrible warning of the fate awaiting slaves who should dare to strike for freedom.

481. The Consulship of Pompey and the Overthrow of the Sullan Constitution (70 B.C.). — In recognition of his services in the Spanish and the Gladiatorial war, Pompey was made consul for the year 70 B.C. Crassus, the conqueror of Spartacus, was chosen as his colleague.

Pompey did not owe the consulate to the senatorial party, to which he nominally belonged, for they were jealous of his growing popularity and threw every obstacle they could in the way of his advance. He owed his election to the popular party, with the leaders of which he had entered into a political bargain, the

² See sec. 582.

terms of which were that in return for the consulate, a triumph, and lands for his veterans, he should aid the people in repealing the Sullan laws and restoring the Gracchan constitution.

No sooner was Pompey installed in office than he proceeded to make good his promises to the democrats. The Sullan constitution was in all its main parts abolished and the Gracchan virtually reestablished.

It would be idle to follow further any changes in the Roman constitution under the republic. From this on to the establishment of the empire there was in reality no constitutional law at Rome, but only the will or caprice of the successful leader of the legions. Consuls and tribunes alike were henceforth hardly more than work-tools in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous commanders who were aiming at the supreme power in the state. In the midst of the bargainings and intrigues of the demagogues and the military chieftains, no one paid any attention to the rules of the constitution, save to use them to further personal ambition or to gain some party end.

482. The Abuses and the Prosecution of Verres (70 B.C.). — It was in connection with the administration of the affairs of the provinces that the most flagrant abuses arose. At first the rule of the Roman governors in the provinces, though severe, was honest and prudent. But during the period of profligacy and corruption upon which we have now entered, the administration of these foreign possessions had become shamefully dishonest and incredibly cruel and rapacious. The prosecution of Verres, the proprætor of Sicily, exposed the scandalous rule of the oligarchy, into whose hands the government had fallen. For three years Verres plundered and ravaged that island with impunity. He sold all the offices and all his decisions as judge. He demanded of the farmers the greater part of their crops, which he sold to swell his already enormous fortune. Agriculture was thus ruined and the farms were abandoned. Verres had a taste for art, and when on his tours through the island confiscated gems, vases, statues, paintings, and other things which struck his fancy, whether in temples or in private dwellings.

Verres could not be called to account while in office (sec. 400) ; and it was doubtful whether, after the end of his term, he could be convicted, so corrupt and venal had become the members of the senate before whom all such offenders must be tried. Indeed, Verres himself openly boasted that he intended two thirds of his gains for his judges and lawyers ; the remaining one third would satisfy himself.

At length, after Sicily had come to look as though it had been ravaged by barbarian conquerors, the infamous robber was impeached. The prosecutor was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the brilliant orator, who was at this time just rising into prominence at Rome. The storm of indignation raised by the developments of the trial caused Verres to flee into exile to Massilia, whither he took with him much of his ill-gotten wealth.

483. Growth of Piracy in the Mediterranean ; War with the Pirates (78-66 B.C.).—

Another most shameful commentary on the utter incapacity of the government of the aristocrats was the growth of piracy in the Mediterranean waters during their rule. It is true that this was an evil which had been growing for a long time. The Romans through their conquest of the countries fringing the Mediterranean had destroyed not only the governments that had maintained order on the land but at the same time had destroyed the fleets, as in the case of Carthage, which, since the days when the rising Greek cities suppressed piracy in the Ægean Sea, had policed the Mediterranean and kept its ship routes clear of corsairs. In the more vigorous days of the republic



FIG. 143.—ROMAN TRADING VESSEL

the sea had been well watched by Roman fleets, but after the close of the wars with Carthage the Romans had allowed their war navy to fall into decay.

The Mediterranean, thus left practically without patrol, was swarming with pirates; for the Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits in those maritime countries to take to their ships and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. The cruelty and extortion of the Roman governors in the various provinces, the civil war, the proscriptions and confiscations of the days of terror at Rome, the impoverishment and dispossession of the peasant farmers everywhere through the growth of great slave estates, — all these things, filling as they did the Mediterranean lands with homeless and desperate men, had also driven large numbers of hitherto honest and industrious persons to the same course of life.

These "ruined men of all nations," now turned pirates, had banded themselves together in a sort of government and state. They had as places of refuge numerous strong fortresses — four hundred it is said — among the inaccessible mountains of the coast lands they frequented. They had a fleet of a thousand sails, with dockyards and naval arsenals. They made treaties with the Greek maritime cities and formed leagues of friendship with the kings and princes of the East.

The history of this pirate state is as interesting as a pirate's tale. Its swift ships, sailing in fleets and squadrons, scoured the waters of the Mediterranean, so that no merchantman could spread her sails in safety. Nor were these buccaneers content with what spoils the sea might yield them; like the Vikings of the Northern seas in later times they made descents upon every coast, plundered villas and towns, and sweeping off the inhabitants sold them openly as slaves in the slave markets of the East. They robbed the venerated temple of Delos and carried off all the inhabitants of the sacred island into slavery. They exacted from many cities an annual tribute as the price of immunity from their visits. In some regions the inhabitants, as in early times,

were compelled to remove for safety from the coast and rebuild their homes farther inland.

The pirates even ravaged the shores of Italy itself. They destroyed a Roman fleet lying in the harbor of Ostia. They carried off merchants and travelers from the Appian Way and held them for ransom. At last they began to intercept the grain ships of Sicily and Africa and thereby threatened Rome with starvation. Corn rose to famine prices.

The Romans now bestirred themselves. In the year 67 B.C. Pompey was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He was given an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and an armament of over two hundred ships.

Pompey acted with unwonted energy. Within forty days he had swept the pirates from the Western Mediterranean and in forty-nine more hunted them from all the waters east of Italy, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the twenty thousand prisoners that fell into his hands in various colonies in Asia Minor and Greece. Pompey's vigorous and successful conduct of this campaign against the pirates gained him great honor and reputation.

484. Pompey in the East ; the Death of Mithradates (63 B.C.).
—Pompey had not yet ended the war with the pirates before he was given, by a vote of the people, charge of the war against Mithradates,³ who now for several years had been in arms against Rome. In a great battle in Lesser Armenia Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithradates. The king fled from the field, and soon afterwards, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life⁴ (63 B.C.). His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithradates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with respect and dread.

³ The so-called Third Mithradatic War (74-64 B.C.). What is known as the Second Mithradatic War (83-82 B.C.) was a short conflict that arose just after the close of the First (sec. 474, n. 9). The chief conduct of the present war had been in the hands of Lucius L. Lucullus.

⁴ Some authorities, however, say that he was murdered by his son.

Pompey now turned south and conquered Syria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, which countries he erected into a Roman province under the name of Syria (64 B.C.). Still pushing southward, the conqueror entered Palestine, and after a short siege of Jerusalem, by taking advantage of the scruples of the Jews in regard to fighting on the Sabbath day, captured the city (63 B.C.). The Romans here for the first time came in direct contact with a people whose ideas of God and of life they were wholly incapable of understanding, but who nevertheless were destined to exert a vast influence upon the empire these conquerors were constructing.

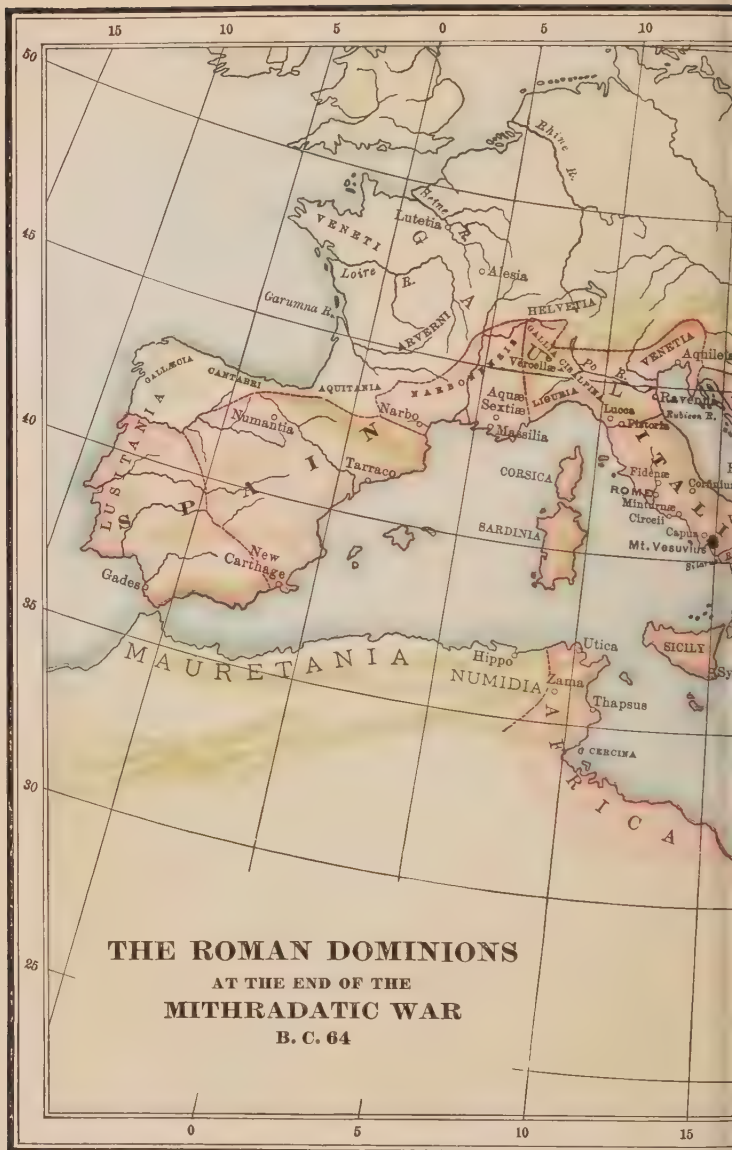
485. Pompey's Triumph. — After regulating the affairs of the different states and provinces in the East, Pompey set out on his return to Rome, where he enjoyed such a triumph as never before had been seen since Rome became a city. The spoils of all the East were borne in the procession; three hundred and twenty-two princes walked as captives before the triumphal chariot of the conqueror; legends upon the banners proclaimed that he had conquered twenty-one kings, captured one thousand strongholds, nine hundred towns, and eight hundred ships, and subjugated more than twelve millions of people; and that he had put into the treasury more than \$25,000,000, besides doubling the regular revenues of the state. He boasted that three times he had triumphed, and each time for the conquest of a continent, — first for Africa, then for Europe, and now for Asia, which completed the conquest of the world.

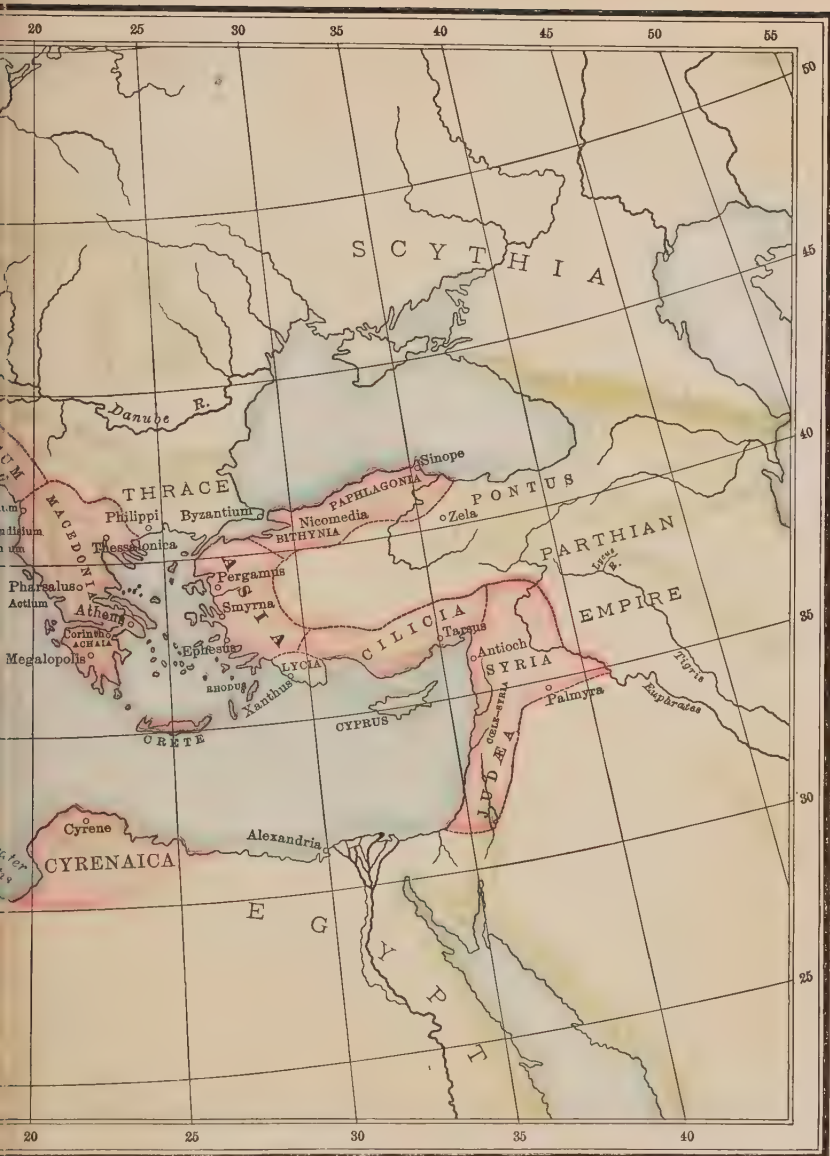


FIG. 144. — POMPEY
THE GREAT
(Spada Palace, Rome)

486. The Conspiracy of Catiline (64-62 B.C.). — While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Lucius Sergius Catilina, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with







debts and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state and to plunder and burn the capital. The offices of the new government were to be divided among the conspirators. The proscriptions of Sulla were to be renewed and all debts were to be canceled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula that they "should take care that the republic received no harm." The city walls were manned; and at every point the capital and state were armed against the "invisible foe." Then in the senate chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as *The First Oration against Catiline*. The senators shrank from the conspirator and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, Catiline fled from the chamber and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers in Etruria. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria he was slain with many of his followers (62 B.C.). His head was borne as a trophy to Rome. Cicero was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

487. Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey: the so-called First Triumvirate (60 B.C.). — Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, still it was very easy to foresee that the downfall of the Roman republic was near at hand. Indeed, from this time on, only the name remained. The days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was practically in the hands of ambitious and popular leaders, or of corrupt combinations and "rings." Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men — Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey — who were destined to shape affairs. Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old patrician family, still he had identified himself with the

Marian or democratic party. In every way he courted public favor. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His debts are said to have amounted to 25,000,000 sesterces (about \$1,250,000). His popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to the senatorial or aristocratic party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about \$8,875,000).

With Gnaeus Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great; for in settling and reorganizing the many countries he subdued he had always taken care to reconstruct them in his own interest, as well as in that of the republic. The offices, as we have seen, were filled with his friends and adherents. This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces. His veteran legionaries, too, were naturally devoted to the general who had led them so often to victory.

What is commonly known as the First Triumvirate rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the achievements of Pompey. It was a coalition or private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control of public affairs. Each pledged himself to work for the interests of the others. Cæsar was the manager of the "ring." Through the aid of his colleagues he secured the consulship.

488. Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul (58-51 B.C.). — At the end of his consulship Cæsar had assigned him, as proconsul, the administration of the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum. Already doubtless he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and Germanic tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such glory and prestige as in other fields had been won and were now enjoyed by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a

veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs towards which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his admirable *Commentaries* Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 51 B.C.

The year 55 B.C. marked two notable achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed, by means of hastily constructed ships, the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain, but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the mainland without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans (sec. 512).

In the year 52 B.C., while Cæsar was absent in Italy, a general revolt occurred among the Gallic tribes. It was a last desperate struggle for the recovery of their lost independence. Vercingetorix, chief of the Arverni, was the leader of the insurrection. For a time it seemed as though the Romans would be driven out of the country; but Cæsar's dispatch and genius saved the province to the republic. Vercingetorix and eighty thousand of his warriors were shut up in Alesia, and were finally starved into submission. All Gaul was now quickly reconquered and pacified.

Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by Cæsar's victories over the Gauls. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

489. **Results of the Gallic Wars.** — One good result of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul was the establishment throughout this region of the Roman Peace. Before the Romans entered the country it was divided among a great number of tribes that were constantly at war with one another. In throwing her authority over them all, Rome caused their intertribal contentions to cease, and thus established a condition of things that first made possible the rapid and steady development among the people of the arts of peace.

A second result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. Honors were conferred upon many of the Gallic chieftains, privileges were bestowed upon the different communities, and the Roman franchise granted to prominent and influential natives.

This Romanization of Gaul meant much both for Roman history and for the general history of Europe. The Roman stock in Italy was failing. It was this new Romanized people that in the times of the empire gave to the Roman state many of its best commanders, statesmen, emperors, orators, poets, and historians. In this way Gaul rendered the Roman state some such service as Ireland has rendered the British Empire.

The Romanization of Gaul meant, further, the adding of another to the number of Latin nations that were to arise from the break-up of the Roman Empire. There can be little doubt that if Cæsar had not conquered Gaul it would have been overrun by the Germans, and would ultimately have become simply an extension of Germany. There would then have been no great Latin nation north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. It is difficult to imagine what European history would be like if the French nation, with its semi-Italian temperament, instincts, and traditions, had never come into existence.

A final result of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul and against the intruding German tribes was the check given to the migratory movements of these peoples. Had this check not been given, it is possible that what we call the Great Migration of the German peoples (Chap. XLIX) might have taken place in the first century

before, instead of in the fifth century after, the coming of Christ, and Rome's great work of enriching civilization and establishing it everywhere throughout the Mediterranean world might have been interrupted while yet only fairly begun.

490. The Death of Crassus ; Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey. — While Cæsar was engaged in his Transalpine wars, Crassus was leading an army against the Parthians, hoping to rival there the brilliant conquests of Cæsar in Gaul. But his army was almost annihilated by the enemy, and he himself was slain (54 B.C.).

The world now belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. That the insatiable ambition of these two rivals should sooner or later bring them into collision was inevitable. Their alliance in the triumvirate was simply one of selfish convenience, not of friendship. While Cæsar was carrying on his campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his great rival. He strove by a princely liberality to win the affections of the common people. On the Field of Mars he erected an immense stone theater with seats for forty thousand spectators. He gave magnificent games and set public tables, and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged he entertained them with gladiatorial combats.

In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He sought in every way to ingratiate himself with the Gauls ; he increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of temples, theaters, and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

Pompey, whom the senate had appointed sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator, now openly broke with Cæsar and attached himself again to the old aristocratic party, which he had deserted for the alliance and promises of the triumvirate. The death, at this time, of his wife Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, severed the bonds of relationship at the same moment that those of ostensible friendship were broken.

491. Cæsar crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.). — Cæsar now demanded the consulship. He knew that his life would not be safe in Rome from the jealousy and hatred of his enemies without the security from impeachment and trial which that office would give. The senate, acting under the instigation of these same enemies, issued a decree that he should resign his office and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast!"

492. Cæsar becomes Master of the West (49-48 B.C.). — The bold movement of Cæsar produced great consternation at Rome. Realizing the danger of delay, Cæsar, without waiting for the Gallic legions to join him, marched southward. One city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey and a great part of the senators hastened from Rome to Brundisium, and thence, with about twenty-five thousand soldiers, fled across the Adriatic into Greece. The exiled senators reconvened at Thessalonica in Macedonia, and made that city the seat of the government. Within sixty days Cæsar had made himself undisputed master of all Italy. His moderation and prudence won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla reënacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred.

With order restored in Italy, Cæsar's next movement was to gain control of the wheat fields of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. A single legion brought over Sardinia without resistance to the side of Cæsar. Cato, the lieutenant of Pompey, fled from before Cæsar's lieutenant out of Sicily. In Africa, however, the Pompeians held their ground until the close of the war. Cæsar, meanwhile, had subjugated Spain. The entire peninsula was brought under his authority in forty days. He was now free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East.

493. The Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.); the Death of Pompey.

— From Brundisium Cæsar embarked his legions for Epirus. The armies of the rivals met upon the plains of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's forces were cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing he was assassinated by order of the reigning Ptolemy, who thereby hoped to make Cæsar his friend.

The head of the great general was severed from his body; and when Cæsar, who was pressing after Pompey in hot pursuit, landed in Egypt, the bloody trophy was brought to him. But it was no longer the head of his rival, but of his old associate and son-in-law. Turning from the sight with generous tears, he ordered that the assassins be executed and that fitting obsequies be performed over the mutilated body.

494. Cæsar defeats Pharnaces (47 B.C.); the Battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.); (End of the Civil War. — Cæsar was detained at Alexandria nine months in settling a dispute respecting the throne of Egypt. After a severe contest he overthrew the reigning Ptolemy and secured the kingdom to the celebrated Cleopatra and a younger brother. Intelligence was now brought from Asia Minor that Pharnaces, son of Mithradates the Great, was inciting a revolt among the peoples of that region. Cæsar met the Pontic king at Zela, defeated him, and in five days put an end to the war (47 B.C.). His laconic message to the senate announcing his victory is famous. It ran thus: "*Veni, vidi, vici,*" — "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Cæsar now hurried back to Italy, and thence proceeded to Africa, which the friends of the old republic had made their last chief rallying place. At the great battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) they were crushed. Fifty thousand lay dead upon the field. Cato,⁵ who had been the very life and soul of the army, refusing to outlive the republic, took his own life.

495. Cæsar as an Uncrowned King; his Triumph. — Cæsar was now virtually lord of the Roman world.⁶ He refrained from taking

⁵ This was a grandson of Cato the Censor (sec. 456).

⁶ The sons of Pompey — Gnæus and Sextus — had headed a revolt in Spain. Cæsar crushed the movement a little later in the decisive battle of Munda, 45 B.C.

the title of king, but he assumed the purple robe, the insignia of royalty, and caused his effigy to be stamped, after the manner of sovereigns, on the public coins. His statue was significantly given a place along with those of the seven kings of early Rome. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The senate made him perpetual dictator (44 B.C.), and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. Thus, though not a king in name, Cæsar's actual position at the head of the state was that of an absolute ruler.

Cæsar's triumph celebrating his many victories far eclipsed in magnificence anything that Rome had before witnessed. In the procession were led captive princes from all parts of the world. Beneath his standards marched soldiers gathered out of almost every country under the heavens. Seventy-five million dollars of treasure were displayed. Splendid games and tables attested the liberality of the conqueror. Sixty thousand couches were set for the multitudes. The shows of the theater and the combats of the arena followed one another in an endless round.

496. Cæsar as a Statesman. — Cæsar was great as a general, yet greater, if possible, as a statesman. He had great plans which embraced the whole world that Rome had conquered. A chief aim of his was to establish between the different classes of the empire equality of rights, to place Italy and the provinces on the same footing, to blend the various races and peoples into a real nation, — in a word, to carry to completion that great work of making all the world Roman which had been begun in the earliest times. To this end he established numerous colonies in the provinces and settled in them a hundred thousand of the poorer citizens of the capital. With a liberality that astonished and offended many, he admitted to the senate sons of freedmen, and particularly representative men from among the Gauls, and conferred upon individual provincials, and upon entire classes and communities in the provinces, the partial or full rights of the city. His action here marks an epoch in the history of Rome. The immunities and privileges of the city had never hitherto been

conferred, save in exceptional cases, upon any peoples other than those of the Italian race. Cæsar threw the gates of the city wide open to the non-Italian peoples of the provinces. Thus was foreshadowed the day when all freemen throughout the whole empire should be Roman in name and privilege⁷ (sec. 527).

As Pontifex Maximus Cæsar reformed the calendar so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of 365 days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year. This is what is called the Julian Calendar.⁸

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many vast undertakings which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution.

He ordered a survey of the enormous domains of the state; he proposed to make a code or digest

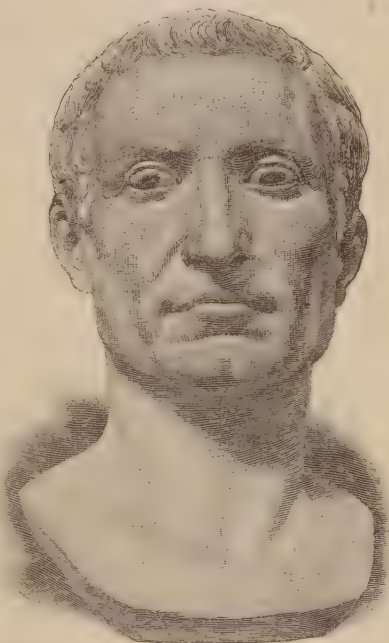


FIG. 145. — JULIUS CÆSAR
(Vatican Museum)

⁷ One of the most important of all Cæsar's laws was that known as the *Lex Julia Municipalis* (45 B.C.), whose aim was to bring order and uniformity into the municipal system and to develop a more vigorous civic life in the municipal towns of Italy. All the municipal governments organized after this, whether in towns in Italy or in the provinces, conformed to the principles embodied in this important constitutional measure.

⁸ This calendar was in general use in Europe until the year 1582, when it was reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, and became what is known as the Gregorian Calendar. This in time came in vogue in all Christian countries save Russia, where the Julian Calendar is still followed.

of the Roman laws; he also planned many public works and improvements at Rome, among which were schemes for draining the Pontine marshes and for changing the course of the Tiber. He further proposed to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, and to form a library to take the place of the great Alexandrian collection, which had been partly destroyed during his campaign in Egypt. But all his plans were brought to a sudden end by the daggers of assassins.

497. The Death of Cæsar (44 B.C.). — Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old republic to whom he was the destroyer of republican liberties. The impression began to prevail that he was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by the consul Mark

Antony; but seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is no doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, the fabled cradle of the Roman race (sec. 130), and make that ancient capital the seat of the new Roman Empire.

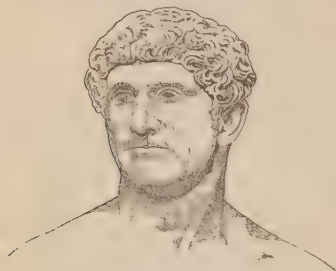


FIG. 146. — MARK ANTONY
(Vatican Museum)

Others professed to believe that

the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the center of the proposed kingdom. So many, out of love for Rome and the old republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, were concerned in the plot. The soothsayers must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned

Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." As he entered the hall where the senate was to assemble that day, he observed the astrologer Spurinna, and remarked carelessly to him, referring to his prediction, "The Ides of March have come." "Yes," replied Spurinna, "but not gone."

No sooner had Cæsar taken his seat than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "*Et tu, Brute!*"—"Thou, too, Brutus!" then to have drawn his mantle over his face and to have received unresistingly their further thrusts. Pierced with twenty-three wounds, he sank dead at the foot of Pompey's statue.



FIG. 147.—THE RECENTLY FOUND BASE OF CÆSAR'S COLUMN

The so-called Julian Pillar marked the spot in the forum where Cæsar's body was burned

The Romans had killed many of their best men and cut short their work; but never had they killed such a man as Cæsar. He was the greatest man their race had yet produced or was destined ever to produce.

Cæsar's work was left all incomplete. What lends to it such great historical importance is the fact that in his reforms and policies Cæsar drew the broad lines which his successors followed, and indicated the principles on which the government of the future must be based.

498. Funeral Oration by Mark Antony.—The conspirators, or "liberators," as they called themselves, had thought that the senate would confirm, and the people applaud, their act. But both people and senators, struck with consternation, were silent. Men's faces grew pale as they recalled the proscriptions of Sulla and saw in the

assassination of Cæsar the first act in a similar reign of terror. Upon the day set for the funeral ceremonies, Mark Antony, the trusted friend and secretary of Cæsar, mounted the rostra in the forum to deliver the usual funeral oration. He recounted

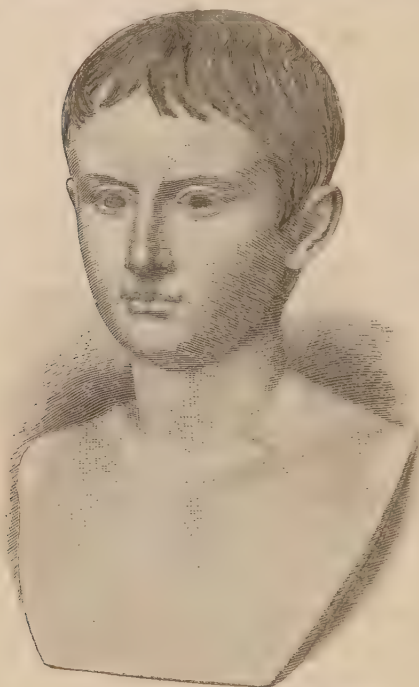


FIG. 148. — OCTAVIUS AS A YOUTH
(Vatican Museum)

the great deeds of Cæsar, the glory he had conferred upon the Roman name, dwelt upon his liberality and his munificent bequests to the people—even to some who were now his murderers; and when he had wrought the feelings of the multitude to the highest tension, he held up the robe of Cæsar, and showed the rents made by the daggers of the assassins.

Cæsar had always been beloved by the people and idolized by his soldiers. They were now driven almost to frenzy with

grief and indignation. Seizing weapons and torches they rushed through the streets vowing vengeance upon the conspirators. The liberators, however, escaped from the fury of the mob and fled from Rome, Brutus and Cassius seeking refuge in Greece.

499. The Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).—Antony had gained possession of the will and papers of Cæsar, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator, according to a decree of the senate, entered upon a course of high-handed usurpation.

He was aided in his designs by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, one of Cæsar's old lieutenants. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives."

To what lengths Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Gaius Octavius, the young grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and adopted as his son. Upon the senate declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him and Antony and Lepidus. After several indecisive battles between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The outcome of a conference was a league known as the Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power of Sulla, was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill-will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero,—who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes,—and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. "Let me die," said he, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!"

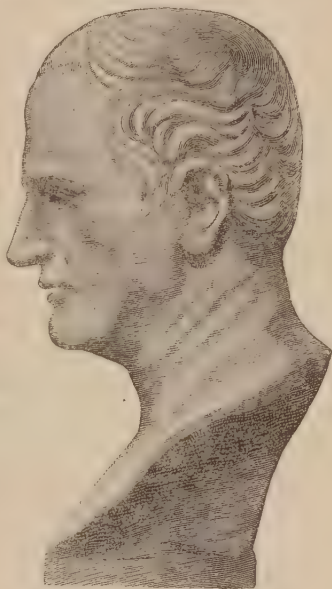


FIG. 149.—CICERO. (Madrid)

His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, towards the coast, when his pursuers came up and dispatched him in the litter in which he was being carried. His head was taken to Rome and set up in front of the rostra, "from which he had so often addressed the people with his eloquent appeals for liberty." It is told that Fulvia, the wife of Antony, ran her gold bodkin through the tongue in revenge for the bitter philippics it had uttered against her husband. The right hand of the victim — the hand that had penned the eloquent orations — was nailed to the rostra.

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were reënacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

500. Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi (42 B.C.); the Roman World in the hands of Antony and Octavius. — The friends of the old republic and the enemies of the triumvirs were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius were the animating spirits. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece to disperse the forces of the republicans there. The liberators, advancing to meet them, passed over the Hellespont into Thrace.

At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies met (42 B.C.). In two successive engagements the new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the republic forever lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme power. After various redistributions of provinces, Lepidus was at length expelled from the triumvirate, and then again the Roman world, as in the times of Cæsar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters, — Antony in the East and Octavius in the West.

501. Antony and Cleopatra. — After the battle of Philippi Antony went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of

the provinces and vassal states there. He summoned Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia, there to give account to him for the aid she had rendered the liberators. She obeyed the summons, relying upon the power of her charms to appease the anger of the triumvir. She ascended the Cydnus in a gilded barge, with oars of silver and sails of purple silk. Beneath awnings wrought of the richest manufactures of the East, the beautiful queen, attired to personate Venus, reclined amidst lovely attendants dressed to represent cupids and nereids. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Cæsar before him, by the dazzling beauty of the "Serpent of the Nile." Enslaved by her enchantments and charmed by her brilliant wit, in the pleasure of her company he forgot all else, — ambition and honor and country.

Once, indeed, Antony did rouse himself and break away from his enslavement to lead the Roman legions across the Tigris against the Parthians. But the storms of approaching winter and the incessant attacks of the Parthian cavalry at length forced him to make a hurried and disastrous retreat. Antony hastened back to Egypt and sought to forget his shame and disappointment amidst the revels of the Egyptian court.

502. The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). — Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra. It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, as the heir of the empire. All Rome was stirred. It was evident that a struggle was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City.

Both parties made the most gigantic preparations for the inevitable conflict. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the western coast of Greece. While the issue of the battle that there took

place was yet undecided, Cleopatra turned her galley in flight. The Egyptian ships, to the number of fifty, followed her example. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel and became her partner in the disgraceful flight.

The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius. The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire. Some, however, make the establishment of the empire date from the year 27 B.C., as it was not until then that Octavius was formally invested with imperial powers.

503. Death of Antony and of Cleopatra; Egypt becomes a Roman Province. — Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide.

Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome that she might there grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Tradition says that she effected her purpose by applying a poisonous asp to her breast.

With the death of Cleopatra the noted dynasty of the Ptolemies came to an end. Egypt was henceforth a province of the Roman state.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pompeius* and *Life of Julius Cæsar*. APPIAN, *The Civil Wars*, bk. ii, chap. xviii; the panic in Rome after Cæsar's death.

References (Modern). — MOMMSEN, vol. iv; read particularly chap. xi, entitled, "The Old Republic and the New Monarchy." MERIVALE, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, chaps. vi-xvii; and *The Roman Triumvirate*. OMAN, *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Republic*, chaps. vi-ix. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 240-258 and 333-398. HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xlv-lii. ABBOTT, *Roman Political Institutions*, chap. vi, secs. 98-117. FREEMAN, *The Three Chief Periods of European History*, lect. ii, "Rome at the Head of Europe." STRACHAN-DAVIDSON, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*. BOISSIER, *Cicero and his*

Friends. TROLLOPE, *The Life of Cicero*. FORSYTH, *Cicero*. FROUDE, *Cæsar*. FOWLER, *Julius Cæsar*. CHURCH, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*; for young readers; also same author's *Two Thousand Years Ago*. DODGE, *Cæsar*. SEELEY, *Roman Imperialism*, lect. i, "The Great Roman Revolution." MONTESQUIEU, *Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans*, chap. ix. MAHAFFY, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. iv, "The Hellenism of Cicero and his Friends." LONG, *The Decline of the Roman Republic*; for general reference.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Sertorius. 2. Spartacus and the gladiators. 3. Verres in Sicily. 4. Lucius Licinius Lucullus. 5. Cicero's First Oration against Catiline. 6. Antony and Cleopatra. 7. Mommsen's estimate of Cæsar.

THIRD PERIOD—ROME AS AN EMPIRE

(31 B.C.—A.D. 476)

CHAPTER XLV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

(31 B.C.—A.D. 14)

504. The Character of the Imperial Government ; the Dyarchy.

—The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remold its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the state, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. “The establishment of the Roman Empire,” says Merivale, “was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon are not to be compared with it for a moment.”

The government which Octavius established was a monarchy in fact but a republic in form. Mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, Octavius carefully veiled his really absolute power under the forms of the old republican state. He did not take the title of king. He knew how hateful to the people that name had been since the expulsion of the Tarquins, and was mindful how many of the best men of Rome, including the great Julius, had perished because they gave the people reason to think that they were aiming at the regal power. Nor did he take the title of

dictator, a name that since the time of Sulla had been almost as intolerable to the people as that of king. But he adopted the title of *Imperator*, — whence the name *Emperor*, — a title which, although it carried with it the absolute authority of the commander of the legions, still had clinging to it no odious memories. He also received from the senate the honorary surname of *Augustus*, a title that hitherto had been sacred to the gods, and hence was free from all sinister associations. A monument of this act was erected in the calendar. It was decreed by the senate that the sixth month of the Roman year should be called Augustus (whence our August) in commemoration of the imperator, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name Julius (whence our July) in honor of Julius Cæsar. Common usage also bestowed upon Octavius the further title of *Princeps*, which was only a designation of courtesy and dignity and simply pointed out him who bore it as the “first citizen” of a free republic.

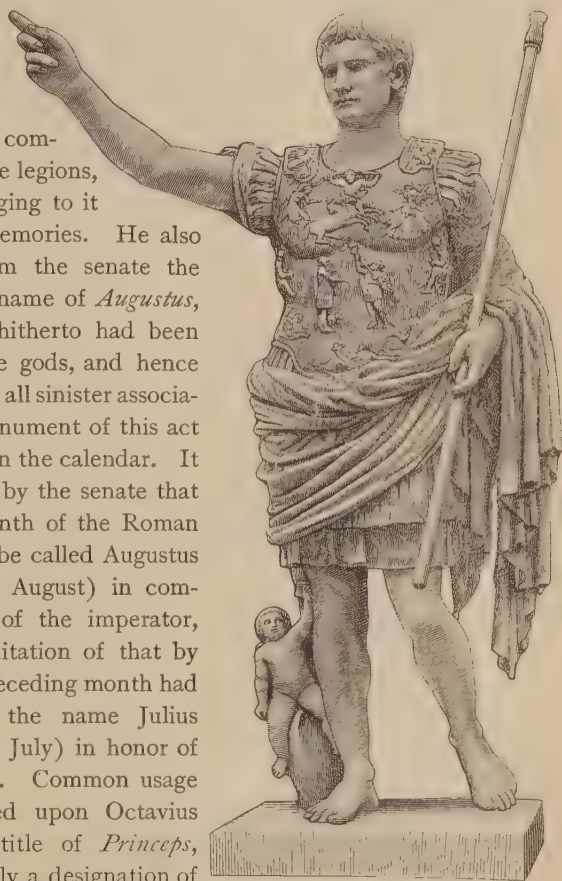


FIG. 150. — AUGUSTUS
(Vatican Museum)

And as Octavius was careful not to wound the sensibilities of the lovers of the old republic by assuming any title that in any

way suggested regal authority and prerogative, so was he careful not to arouse their opposition by abolishing any of the republican offices or assemblies. He allowed all the old magistracies to exist as heretofore; but he himself absorbed and exercised the most important part of their powers and functions. All the republican magistrates were elected as usual;¹ but they were simply the nominees and creatures of the emperor. They were the effigies and figureheads which deluded the people into believing that the republic still existed. Never did a people seem more content with the shadow after the loss of the substance.

Likewise all the popular assemblies remained and were convened as usual to hold elections and to vote on measures laid before them. But Octavius, having been invested with both the consular and the tribunician power, had the right to summon them, to place in nomination persons for the various offices, and to initiate legislation. The titular consuls and tribunes also, it is true, had this right, but after the new order of things had become firmly established they dared not exercise it without the concurrence of the new master of the state.

The senate still existed,² but it was shorn of all real independence, since Augustus had been armed with the censorial power for the purpose of revising its lists. This power Octavius exercised by reducing the number of senators, which had been raised by Antony to one thousand, to six hundred, and by striking from the rolls the names of unworthy members and of obstinate republicans. He wounded, too, its old aristocratic pride by introducing new men into the body, and thereby laying the basis of a new senatorial aristocracy.

We may summarize all these changes by saying that the monarchy abolished five hundred years before this was now rising

¹ The consuls were generally nominated by Augustus, and in order that a large number of his friends and favorites might be amused with the dignity, the term of office was reduced to a shorter period. At a later time the length of the consulate was shortened to two or three months.

² Since in the early empire the senate under the constitutional arrangements of Augustus shared the government with the emperor, the government of this period is by some called a *diarchy*, which means a government by two persons. As a matter of fact, however, under emperors disposed to rule despotically, the rights of the senate were reduced to a nullity.

again amidst the old forms of the republic. This is what was actually taking place; for the chief powers and prerogatives of the ancient king, which during the republican period had been gradually broken up and lodged in the hands of a great number of magistrates, colleges, and assemblies, were now being once more gathered up in the hands of a single man.

505. The Government of the Provinces. — The revolution that brought in the empire effected a great improvement in the condition of the provincials. The government of all those provinces that were in an unsettled state and that needed the presence of a large military force Augustus³ withdrew from the senate and took the management of their affairs in his own hands. These were known as the *provinces of Cæsar*. Instead of these countries being ruled by practically irresponsible proconsuls and proprætors, they were henceforth ruled by legates of the emperor, who were removable at his will and answerable to him for the faithful and honest discharge of the duties of their offices. Salaries were attached to their positions, and thus the scandalous abuses which had grown up in connection with the earlier system of self-payment through fees, requisitions, and like devices were swept away. These provinces were given, as we should say, a pure and able civil service.

The more tranquil provinces were still left under the control of the senate, and were known as *public provinces*. These also profited by the change, since the emperor extended his care and watch to them, and, as the judge of last appeal, righted wrongs and punished flagrant offenders against right and justice.

506. The Defeat of Varus by the Germans under Arminius (A.D. 9). — One of the most important measures of Augustus was the creation of a strong line of defense for the empire against the German tribes by the establishment of a series of well-organized provinces, — Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia, — which, in connection with the province of Belgica, stretched across Europe from the North Sea to the Lower Danube. Backed by the broad streams of the Rhine and the Danube, these provinces constituted a “scientific frontier” for the empire on this side.

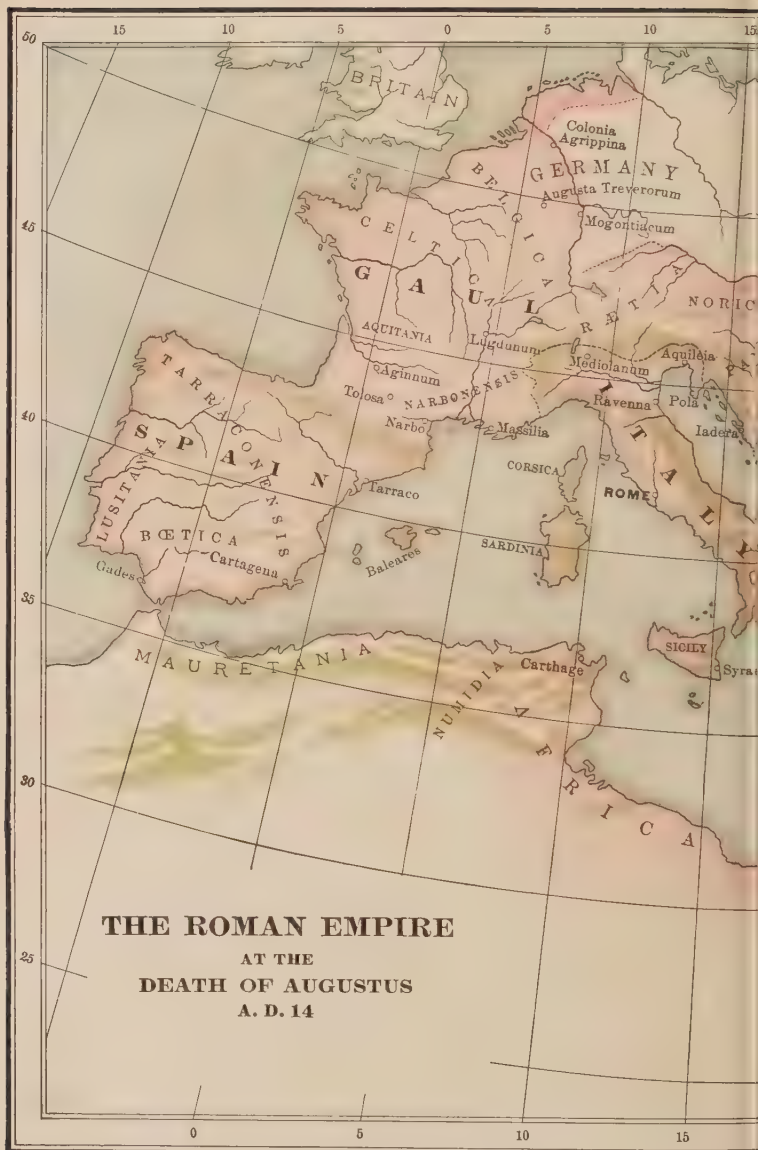
³ From this on we shall refer to Octavius by this his honorary surname.

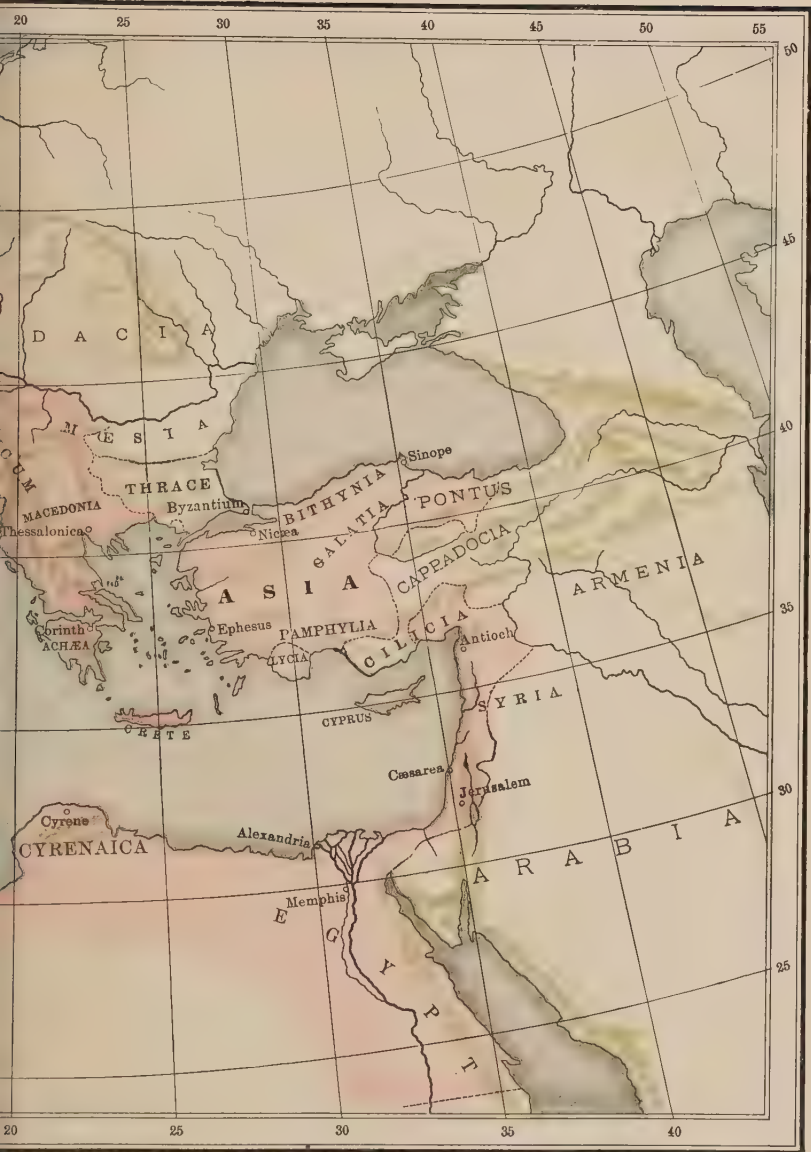
The adoption of the Rhine as a permanent frontier was forced upon Augustus by one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the Roman legions. It was at first the purpose of Augustus to make the Elbe, and not the Rhine, the division line between civilization and barbarism. The security of Italy as well as that of Gaul seemed to require the subjugation of the warlike tribes between these streams. Consequently, during a large part of the reign of Augustus his stepsons Drusus and Tiberius were campaigning in this region. The Roman eagles were carried to the Elbe, and for a time it looked as though that stream would become a frontier river.

But suddenly the whole aspect of affairs in this region was changed. The Roman general Quintilius Varus, who had made the mistake of supposing that he could rule the freedom-loving Germans just as he had governed the servile Asiatics of the Eastern provinces, and had thereby stirred them to determined revolt against the Roman authority, while leading an army of three legions, numbering altogether about twenty thousand men, through the almost pathless depths of the Teutoburg Wood, was surprised by the barbarians led by their brave chieftain Hermann, — called Arminius by the Romans, — and his army destroyed (A.D. 9). Only a few escaped. Thousands of the legionaries lay dead and unburied where they fell in the impassable woods and morasses. "The captives, especially the officers and the advocates, were fastened to the cross, or buried alive, or bled under the sacrificial knife of the German priests. The heads cut off were nailed as a token of victory to the trees of the sacred grove" (Mommson).

The disaster caused great consternation at Rome. Augustus, wearied and worn already with the cares of empire and domestic affliction, was inconsolable. He paced his palace in agony, and kept exclaiming, "O Varus! Varus! give me back my legions! give me back my legions!"

The victory of Arminius over the Romans was an event of the greatest significance in the history of European civilization. Germany was almost overrun by the Roman army. The Teutonic





tribes were on the point of being completely subjugated and put in the way of being Romanized, as the Celts of Gaul had already been. Had this occurred, the entire history of Europe would have been changed; for the Germanic element is the one that has given shape and color to the important events of the last fifteen hundred years. Among these barbarians, too, were our ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, might never have received the name of England, and the great English nation might never have had an existence.

507. Literature and the Arts under Augustus. — The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. Although the government of Augustus, as we have learned, was disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still never before, perhaps, had the civilized world enjoyed so long a period of general rest from the turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the gates of the temple of Janus at Rome, which were open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the existence of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in war.

This long repose from the strife that had filled all the preceding centuries was favorable to the upspringing of literature and art.

Under the patronage of the emperor and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this

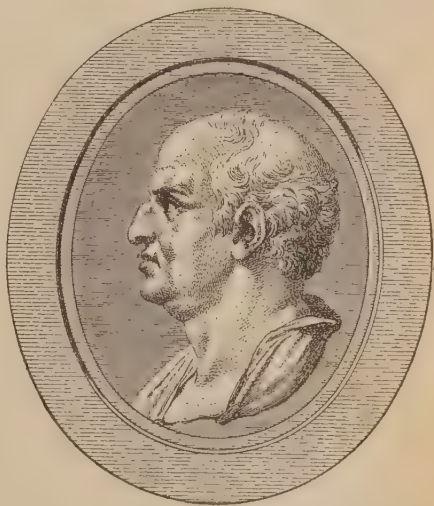


FIG. 151. — MÆCENAS. (From a medallion)

the Golden Age of Latin literature. During this reign Vergil composed his immortal epic of the *Æneid*, and Horace his famous odes, while Livy wrote his inimitable history, and Ovid his fancy-inspiring *Metamorphoses*.⁴ Many who lamented the fall of the republic sought solace in the pursuit of letters; and in this they were encouraged by Augustus, as it gave occupation to many restless spirits that would otherwise have been engaged in political intrigues against his government.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures, including temples, theaters, porticoes, baths, and aqueducts. He said proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble."

508. Social and Religious Life at Rome under Augustus. — One of the most remarkable features of life at the capital during the reign of Augustus was the vast number of Roman citizens who were recipients of the state doles of corn. There were at least two hundred thousand male beneficiaries of this public charity, which means that upwards of half a million of persons in the capital were unable or unwilling to earn their daily bread. The purchase of the immense quantities of corn needed for these free distributions was one of the heaviest drains upon the imperial treasury.

Another striking feature of life at Rome at this time was the growing infatuation of the people for the bloody spectacles of the amphitheater. Prudent as Augustus generally was in the matter of public expenditures, in the providing of these shows he lavished money without measure or stint. The emperor himself gives the following account of the spectacles that he presented.

"Three times in my own name, and five times in that of my sons or grandsons, I have given gladiatorial exhibitions; in these exhibitions about ten thousand men have fought. . . .

"I gave the people the spectacle of a naval battle beyond the Tiber, where now is the grove of the Cæsars. For this purpose an excavation was made eighteen hundred feet long and twelve hundred wide. In this contest thirty beaked ships,

⁴ For further notice of the works of these writers, see secs. 571 and 574.



PLATE XII. — THE ROMAN FORUM. (A restoration by Professor E. Becchetti,
Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Rome)

triremes or biremes, were engaged, besides more of smaller size. About three thousand men fought in these vessels in addition to the rowers.”⁵

For a long time before the fall of the republic, the decay of religious faith had been going on. Augustus did all in his power to arrest the process. He restored the temples and shrines that had fallen into decay, renewed the ancient sacrifices, and erected new temples, not only at Rome, but in every part of the empire. The unauthorized foreign cults, particularly those from the Orient, which had been introduced at the capital, he drove out, and strove to awaken in the people fresh veneration for the ancestral deities of Rome.

509. The Death and Deification of Augustus.—In the year A.D. 14 Augustus died, having reached the seventy-sixth year of his age. His last words to the friends gathered about his bedside were, “If I have acted well my part in life’s drama, greet my departure with your applause.” By decree of the senate divine worship was accorded to him and temples were erected in his honor.

At first blush this worship of the dead Cæsar seems to us strange and impious. But it will not seem so if we put ourselves at the point of view of the old Roman. It was the natural and logical outcome of ancestor worship, which, as we have learned, was a favorite cult among the Romans (sec. 373). The sentiment and belief which prompted the offerings of gifts and prayers to the guardian spirits of the family would naturally lead to similar offerings to the spirit of the departed Cæsar, father of the Roman state.

The establishment of this cult of the emperor had far-reaching consequences, as we shall see; since at the very time that the religion of the Græco-Roman world was taking on this form there was springing up in a remote corner of the empire a new yet old religion with which this imperial cult must necessarily come into violent conflict. For it was in the midst of the happy

⁵ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, cc. 22, 23, edited by William Fairley. See References, p. 493.

reign of Augustus, when profound peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, — the doors of the temple of Janus having been closed, — that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The event was unheralded at Rome; yet it was filled with profound significance not only for the Roman Empire but for the world.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ROMAN CITIZENS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE

These figures embody what is perhaps the most important matter in Roman history, namely, the gradual admission of unprivileged commoners and of aliens to the full rights of the city until every freeman in the civilized world had become a citizen of Rome. This movement we have endeavored to trace in the text. Consult particularly secs. 391, 395, 398, 402, 412, 415, 418, 470, 471, 496, 512, 527.

	<i>Citizens of Military Age</i>
Under the later kings (Mommsen's estimate)	20,000
338 B.C.	165,000 ⁶
293 "	262,322
251 "	279,797
220 "	270,213
204 "	214,000 ⁷
164 "	327,022
115 "	394,336
70 "	900,000?
27 "	4,063,000 ⁸
8 "	4,233,000
13 A.D.	4,937,000
47 " (under Claudius)	6,944,000

⁶ These figures do not include the inhabitants of the Latin colonies nor of the allied states.

⁷ The falling off from the number of the preceding census of 220 B.C. was a result of the Hannibalic War.

⁸ These figures and those of the enumerations for 8 B.C. and 13 A.D. are from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The increased number given by the census of 70 B.C. over that of 115 B.C. registers the result of the admission to the city of the Italians at the end of the Social War (sec. 470). The tremendous leap upwards of the figures between 70 and 27 B.C. is probably to be explained not wholly by the admission during this period of aliens to the franchise but also, possibly, by the failure of the censors of the republican period to include in their enumerations the Roman citizens living in places remote from the capital.

Selections from the Sources. — *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Res Gestæ Divi Augusti — “The Deeds of Augustus”), vol. v, No. 7, of the Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania. This forms one of the most important of the original sources for the reign of Augustus. It is a long bilingual inscription (Latin and Greek) discovered in 1595 on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra (whence the name), in Asia Minor. The inscription is a copy of a tablet which was set up in front of the mausoleum of Augustus at Rome. TACITUS, *Annals*, i. 2; how Augustus made himself supreme at Rome.

References (Modern). — INGE, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, chap. i, “Religion”; deals with the decay of Roman religion and the establishment at the capital of Oriental cults. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. v, “Victory of Arminius over the Roman Legions under Varus, A.D. 9.” CAPES, *The Early Empire*, chap. i, “Augustus.” PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. v, chap. iii. BURY, *The Roman Empire*, pp. 1–149. ALLCROFT and HAYDON, *The Early Principate*, chaps. i–vii. FIRTH, *Augustus Cæsar*. THIERRY, *Tableau de l'Empire Romain*. Teachers and mature students will find this work very suggestive. The book might be entitled Rome's Place in Universal History. MILMAN, *The History of Christianity*, vol. i (first part). MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*. This work covers the first two centuries of the imperial period. For the reign of Augustus, see vol. iii, chaps. xxx and xxxi, and vol. iv.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. In theory the government of the early empire was a dyarchy, — a joint rule of the Emperor and the Senate. How real was the participation of the Senate in the government? 2. Administration of the provinces under the early empire. 3. The defeat of Varus. 4. Life at Rome under Augustus. 5. The cult of the Emperor.

CHAPTER XLVI

FROM TIBERIUS TO MARCUS AURELIUS

(A.D. 14-180)

510. Reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). — Tiberius, the adopted stepson of Augustus, became his successor. One of his first acts was to take away from the popular assemblies the right which they still nominally possessed of electing the yearly magistrates, and to bestow the same upon the senate, which, however, as a rule elected candidates presented by the emperor. As the senate was practically the creation of the emperor through virtue of his power to name new members, he was now of course the source and fountain of all patronage. During the first years of his reign Tiberius used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation, being seemingly desirous of promoting the best interests of all classes in his vast empire ; and even to the last his government of the provinces was just and beneficent.

But unfortunately Tiberius was of a morose, suspicious, and jealous nature, and the opposition which he experienced in the capital caused him, in his contest with his political and personal enemies, soon to institute there a most high-handed tyranny. He enforced oppressively an old law, known as the *Law of Majestas*, which made it a capital offense for any one to speak a careless word, or even to entertain an unfriendly thought, respecting the emperor. Rewards were offered to informers, and hence sprang up a class of persons called *delators*, who acted as spies upon society. Often false charges were made to gratify personal enmity ; and many, especially of the wealthy class, were accused and put to death that their property might be confiscated.

Tiberius appointed as his chief minister and as commander of the prætorian guard¹ one Sejanus, a person of the lowest and

¹ This was a corps of select soldiers which had been created by Augustus, and which was designed for a sort of bodyguard to the emperor. It numbered about

most corrupt life. Then he retired to Capreæ, an islet in the Bay of Naples, and left to this man the management of affairs at the capital. For a time Sejanus ruled at Rome very much according to his own will. He murdered some of the best citizens, and caused first Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and then other possible heirs to the throne to be put out of the way in order that Tiberius might be constrained to name him as his successor. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the emperor himself. His designs, however, became known to Tiberius, and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death.

After the execution of his minister Tiberius ruled more despotically than before. Multitudes sought refuge from his tyranny in suicide. "I care not that the people hate me," he is represented as saying, "if they approve my deeds."

It was in the midst of the reign of Tiberius that, in a remote province of the Roman Empire, the Saviour was crucified. Animated by an unparalleled missionary spirit, his followers traversed the length and breadth of the empire, preaching everywhere the "glad tidings." Men's loss of faith in the gods of the old mythologies, the softening and liberalizing influence of Greek culture, the unification of the whole civilized world under a single government, the widespread suffering and the inexpressible weariness of the oppressed and servile classes, — all these things had prepared the soil for the seed of the new doctrines. In less than three centuries the pagan empire had become Christian not only in name but also very largely in fact. This conversion of Rome is one of the most important events in all history. A new element is here introduced into civilization, an element which has given color and character to the history of all the succeeding centuries.

511. Reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41). — Tiberius was followed by Gaius Cæsar, better known as Caligula. Caligula's reign was, in the main, a tissue of follies. After a few months spent in arduous application to the affairs of the empire, during which time his many acts of kindness and piety won for him the affection of all ten thousand men, and was given a permanent camp alongside the city walls and near one of the gates. It soon became a formidable power in the state and made and unmade emperors at will.

classes, the mind of the young emperor became unsettled. He soon gave himself up to a life of dissipation. The cruel sports of the amphitheater possessed for him a strange fascination. When animals failed he ordered spectators to be seized indiscriminately and thrown to the beasts. He even entered the lists himself and fought as a gladiator upon the arena. After four years his insane career was brought to a close by some of the officers of the prætorian guard whom he had wantonly insulted.

512. Reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). — Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, made his reign a sort of landmark in the constitutional history of Rome by the admission of the Gallic nobles to the Roman senate and the magistracies of the city. Tacitus has given us a paraphrase of a speech which the emperor made before the senate in answer to the objections which were urged against such a course. The emperor touched first upon the fact that his own most ancient ancestor, although of Sabine origin, had been received into the city and made a member of the patrician order. This liberal policy of the fathers ought, he thought, to be followed by himself in his conduct of public affairs. Men of special talent, wherever found, should be transferred to Rome. "Nor am I unmindful of the fact," he continued, "that . . . from Etruria and Lucania and all Italy persons have been received into the Roman senate. Finally, the city was extended to the Alps, so that not single individuals but entire provinces and tribes were given the Roman name. Is it a matter of regret to us that the Balbi came to us from Spain? that men not less distinguished migrated to Rome from Gallia Narbonensis? The descendants of these immigrants remain among us, nor do they yield to us in their devotion to the fatherland. What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this, — that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?"² The generous policy here advocated by Claudius was acted upon, at least as to a part of the Gallic nobility, who were given admission to the Roman senate.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 23. Compare these sentiments of Claudius with those of Titus Manlius (sec. 418). Cf. also sec. 227.

In the field of military enterprise the reign of Claudius was signalized by the conquest of Britain. Nearly a century had now passed since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar. Claudius, through his generals Plautius and Vespasian, subjugated the southern part of the island and made it into a Roman province under the name of *Britannia* (A.D. 43). Many towns soon sprang up here, which in time became important centers of Roman trade and culture, and some of which were the beginnings of great English towns of to-day.

The present reign was further distinguished by the execution of many important works of a utilitarian character. The Claudian Aqueduct, which the emperor completed, was a stupendous work, bringing water to the city from a distance of forty-five miles.

The delight of the people in gladiatorial shows had at this time become almost an insane frenzy. Claudius determined to give an entertainment that should render insignificant all similar efforts. Upon a large lake, whose sloping banks afforded seats for the vast multitude of spectators, he exhibited a naval battle, in which two opposing fleets, bearing nineteen thousand gladiators, fought as though in real battle till the water was reddened with blood and littered with the wreckage of the broken ships.

Throughout his life Claudius was ruled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. For his fourth wife he married the "wicked Agrippina," who secured his death by means of a dish of poisoned mushrooms, in order to make place for the succession of her son Nero, then only sixteen years of age.

513. Reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68). — Nero was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca (sec. 575); but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the prætorians, ruled with moderation and equity; then he gradually broke away from the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity. Like Caligula, Nero degraded the imperial purple by contending in the gladiatorial combats of the arena and in the games of the Circus.

It was in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 64) that the so-called "Great Fire" laid more than half of Rome in ashes. For six days and nights the flames surged like a sea through the valleys and about the base of the hills covered by the city. The people, in the dismay of the moment, were ready to catch up any rumor respecting the origin of the fire. It was reported that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted in order to clear the ground so that he could rebuild the city on a more magnificent plan, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle and amused himself by singing a poem of his own composition entitled the *Sack of Troy*.

Nero did everything in his power to discredit the rumor. He went in person amidst the sufferers and distributed money with his own hand. To further turn attention from himself, he accused the Christians of having conspired to destroy the city in order to help out their prophecies. The doctrine which was taught by some of the new sect respecting the second coming of Christ and the destruction of the world by fire lent color to the charge. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this Neronian persecution.

As to Rome, the conflagration was a blessing in disguise. The city rose from its ashes as quickly as Athens from her ruins at the close of the Persian Wars. The new buildings were made fire-proof, and the narrow, crooked streets⁸ reappeared as broad and beautiful avenues. A large part of the burnt region was appropriated by Nero for the buildings and grounds of an immense palace called the Golden House. As the emperor ensconced himself in its luxurious apartments, he is said to have remarked, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be."

The emperor secured money for his enormous expenditures by fresh murders and confiscations. Among his victims was his old

⁸ The lack of regularity in the streets is said to have been due to the hasty rebuilding of the city after its sack by the Gauls (sec. 413).

preceptor Seneca, who was immensely rich. On the charge of treason, he ordered him to take his own life and then confiscated his estate.

Nero now made a tour through the East, and there plunged deeper and deeper into sensuality and crime. The tyranny and the disgrace were no longer endurable. The legions in several of the provinces revolted. The senate declared the emperor a public enemy and condemned him to death by scourging, to avoid which, aided by a servant, he took his own life.

Nero was the sixth and last of the Julian line. The family of the great Cæsar was now extinct; but the name remained, and was adopted by all the succeeding emperors.

1514. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (A.D. 68-69). — These three names are usually grouped together, as their reigns were all short and uneventful. The succession, upon the death of Nero and the extinction in him of the Julian line, was in dispute, and the legions in different quarters supported the claims of their favorite leaders. One after another the three aspirants named were killed in bloody struggles for the imperial purple. The last, Vitellius, was hurled from the throne by the soldiers of Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine, which were at this time engaged in war with the Jews.

1515. Reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79). — The accession of Flavius Vespasian marks the beginning of a period, embracing three reigns, known as the Flavian Age (A.D. 69-96). Vespasian's reign was signalized both by important military achievements abroad and by stupendous public works undertaken at Rome.

After one of the most harassing sieges recorded in history, Jerusalem was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. The temple



FIG. 152. — VESPASIAN
(Museum at Naples)

was destroyed, and more than a million Jews that were crowded in the city are believed to have perished. The miserable remnants of the nation were scattered everywhere over the world. Josephus, the historian already mentioned (sec.



FIG. 153. — "JUDÆA CAPTA"
(Coin of Vespasian)

86), accompanied the conqueror to Rome. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the temple of its sacred utensils and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears his name may be seen at the present day the sculptured representation of the seven-branched

golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

At this same time, in the opposite corner of the empire, there

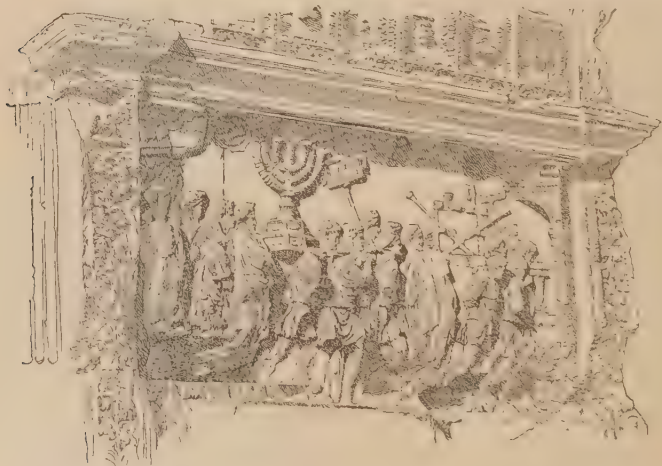


FIG. 154. — TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS
(From a photograph)

Showing the seven-branched candlestick and other trophies from the temple at Jerusalem

broke out a dangerous revolt of the Batavians. The Batavians were joined by many Germans beyond the Rhine and by a large part

of the Gallic tribes. It looked for a moment as though a Gallo-German empire was to be raised on the ruins of the Roman power north of the Alps. But dissension arose among the confederates, which weakened the movement and aided Vespasian's general in crushing the insurrection and restoring the Roman authority.

Vespasian rebuilt the Capitoline temple, which had been burned during the struggles through which he reached the throne; he constructed a new forum, which bore his own name; and also began the erection of the celebrated Flavian amphitheater, which



FIG. 155. — A STREET IN POMPEII. (From a photograph)

was completed by his successor. After a most prosperous reign of ten years Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first emperor after Augustus who had not met with a violent death.

516. Reign of Titus (A.D. 79–81).— In a short reign of two years Titus won the title of “the Friend and the Delight of Mankind.” He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors. Having let a day slip by without some act of kindness performed, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, “I have lost a day.”

Titus completed and dedicated the great Flavian amphitheater begun by his father Vespasian. This vast structure, which seated

over forty thousand⁴ spectators, is better known as the Colosseum, — a name given it either because of its gigantic proportions, or on account of a colossal statue of Nero which happened to stand near it.

The reign of Titus, though so short, was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The cities

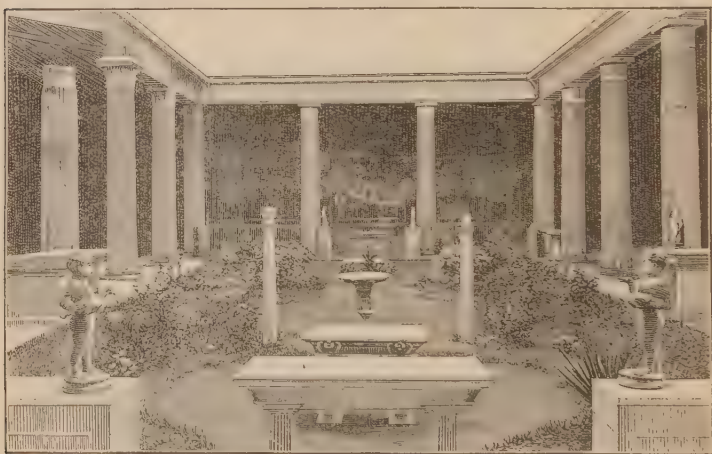


FIG. 156. — HOUSE OF THE VETTI AT POMPEII (From a photograph)

were buried beneath showers of cinders, ashes, and streams of volcanic mud. Pliny the Elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life.⁵

517. The Reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). — Titus was followed by his brother Domitian, whose rule, after the first few years, was

⁴ The old estimate of 80,000 is now regarded as an exaggeration.

⁵ In the year 1713, sixteen centuries after the destruction of the cities, the ruins were discovered by some persons engaged in digging a well, and since then extensive excavations have been made, which have uncovered a large part of Pompeii and revealed to us the streets, homes, theaters, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city, — all of which presents to us a very vivid picture of Roman life during the imperial period eighteen hundred years ago.

one succession of murders and confiscations. This cruel severity was the outgrowth of the contest between the emperor and the senate, which in this reign was renewed with extreme bitterness.

During the reign, however, transactions of interest and importance were taking place on the northern frontier lines. In Britain the able commander Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, subjected or crowded back the warlike tribes until he had extended the frontiers of the empire far into what is now Scotland. Then, as a protection against the incursions of the Caledonians, the ancestors of the Scottish highlanders, he constructed a line of fortresses from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde. Behind this shelter Roman civilization developed securely and rapidly in the new-formed province.

Under this emperor took place what is known in Church history as "the second persecution of the Christians." This class, as well as the Jews, were the special objects of Domitian's hatred, because they refused to burn incense before the statues of himself which he had set up. The name of his niece Domitilla has been preserved as one of the victims of this persecution. This is significant, since it shows that the new faith was thus early finding adherents among the higher classes, even in the royal household itself.

Domitian perished in his own palace and by the hands of members of his own household. The senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments and to be blotted from the records of the Roman state.

518. The Five Good Emperors; Reign of Nerva (A.D. 96-98).—The five emperors — Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines — who succeeded Domitian were elected by the senate, which during this period assumed something of its former weight and influence in the affairs of the empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers secured for them the enviable distinction of being called "the five good emperors."

Nerva, who was an aged senator and an ex-consul, ruled paternally. He died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the scepter passed into the stronger hands of the able commander Trajan, whom Nerva had previously made his associate in the government.



519. Reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). — Trajan was a native of Spain and a soldier by profession and talent. He was the first provincial to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. From this time forward provincials were to play a part of ever-increasing importance in the affairs of the empire.



FIG. 157. — TRAJAN

(From a statue in the Museum at Naples)

Trajan's ambition to achieve military renown led him to undertake distant and important conquests. It was the policy of Augustus — a policy adopted by most of his successors — to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman Empire in those respective quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers.

In the early part of his reign Trajan was busied in wars against the Dacians, tribes that had often disturbed the peace of the Moesian province. In his second campaign he facilitated his operations by constructing across the Danube a bridge, some of the piers of which may still be seen. This expedition resulted in the complete subjugation of the troublesome enemy. Dacia was now made into a province. Roman emigrants poured in crowds into the region, great cities sprang up, and the arts and culture of Rome took deep and permanent root. The modern

name Rumania is a monument of this Roman conquest and colonization beyond the Danube. The Rumanians to-day speak a language that in its main elements is largely of Latin origin.⁶

As a memorial of his achievements the emperor erected, in what came to be known as Trajan's Forum, a splendid marble shaft called Trajan's Column. The great pillar is almost as perfect to-day as when reared eighteen centuries ago. It is one hundred and forty-seven feet high, and is wound from base to summit with a spiral band of sculptures containing more than



FIG. 158. — BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE, BUILT BY TRAJAN
(From relief on Trajan's Column)

twenty-five hundred human figures. Its pictured sides are the best and almost the only record we now possess of the Dacian wars of the emperor.

In the latter years of his reign (A.D. 114-116) Trajan led his legions to the East, crossed the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from the Parthians most of the lands which once formed the heart of the Assyrian monarchy. Out of the territories he had conquered Trajan made three new provinces, which bore the ancient names of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

⁶ The Romanic-speaking peoples of Rumania and the neighboring regions number about ten millions. It seems probable that during mediæval times there was a large immigration into the present Rumania of Latin-speaking people from the districts south of the Danube.

To Trajan belongs the distinction of having extended the boundaries of the empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were ever able to push them.

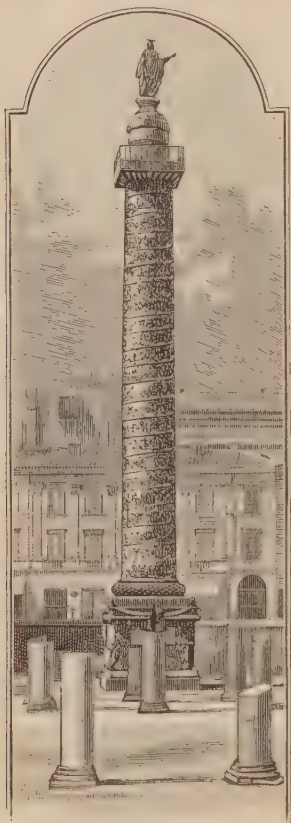


FIG. 159. — TRAJAN'S COLUMN
(From a photograph)

Respecting the rapid spread of Christianity at this time, the character of the early professors of the new faith, and the light in which they were viewed by the rulers of the Roman world, we have very important evidence in a certain letter written by Pliny the Younger (sec. 575) to the emperor in regard to the Christians of Pontus, in Asia Minor, of which remote province Pliny was governor. Pliny speaks of the new creed as a "contagious superstition that had seized not cities only but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Yet he could find no fault in the converts to the new doctrines. Notwithstanding this, however, because the Christians steadily refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, he ordered many to be put to death for their "inflexible obstinacy."

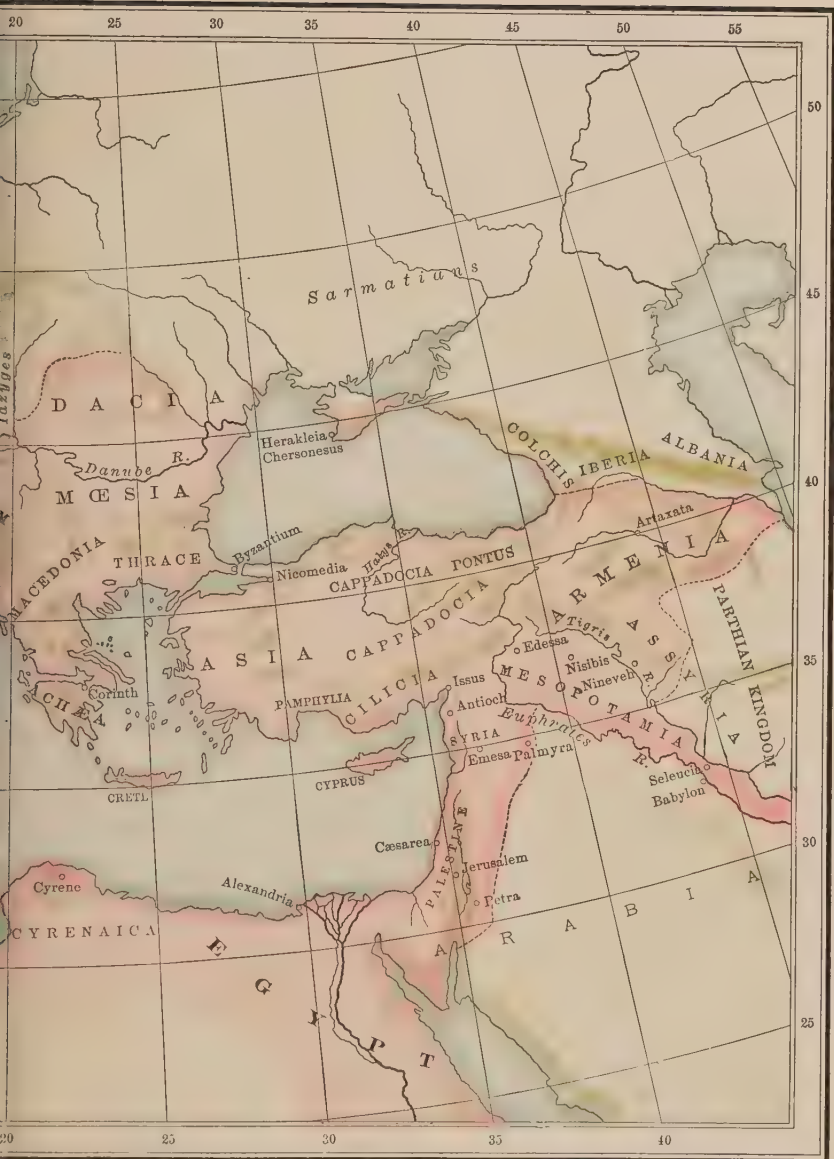
Trajan died A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, one of the most prosperous and fortunate that had yet befallen the lot of the Roman people.

520. Reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). — Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He possessed great ability and displayed admirable moderation and good judgment in the administration of the government. He prudently abandoned the territory that had been



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT
(Under Trajan, A. D. 98-117)

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
Scale of Miles.



acquired by Trajan beyond the Euphrates, and made that stream once more the eastern boundary of the empire.

More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there against the Picts and Scots by erecting a continuous wall across the island from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. This rampart was constructed some distance to the south of the line of fortified stations that had been established by Agricola (sec. 517).

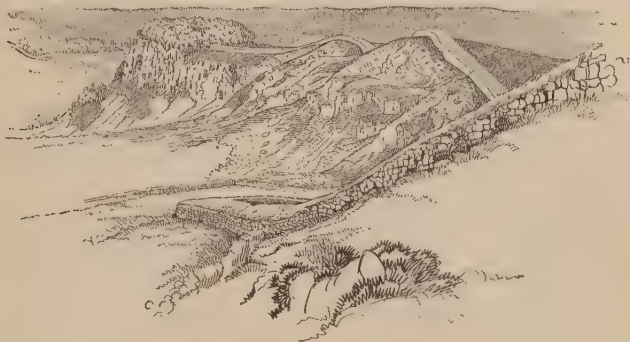


FIG. 160. — THE HADRIAN WALL. (From a photograph by the author)

The Hadrian Wall, in places well preserved and broken at intervals by the ruins of old watchtowers and stations, can still be traced over the low hills of the English moorlands almost from sea to sea.⁷ There exists nowhere in the lands that once formed the provinces of the empire of Rome any more impressive memorial of her world-wide dominion than these ramparts, along which for three hundred years and more her sentinels kept watch and ward for civilization against the barbarian marauders of Caledonia.

⁷ The best work on the rampart is J. C. Bruce's *The Roman Wall* (London, 1851). *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, by the same author, is an abridgment of his larger work. One of the best preserved sections of the wall can be easily reached from the Haltwhistle station on the railroad between Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Carlisle. The student traveler in those parts should not fail to examine these interesting memorials of the Roman occupation of Britain.

After his visit to Britain Hadrian returned to Gaul, and then inspected in different tours all the remaining provinces of the empire. Many of the cities which he visited he adorned with temples, theaters, and other buildings. Upon Athens, particularly,

he lavished large sums in art embellishments, reviving in a measure the fading glories of the Periclean Age.



FIG. 161. — HADRIAN
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

In the year 132 the Jews in Palestine, who had in a measure recovered from the blow Titus had given their nation (sec. 515), broke out in desperate revolt, because of the planting of a Roman colony upon the almost desolate site of Jerusalem; and the placing of the statue of Jupiter in the holy temple. More than half a million of Jews are said to have perished in the hopeless struggle, and the most of the survivors

were driven into exile,—the last dispersion of the race (A.D. 135).

The latter years of his reign Hadrian passed at Rome. It was here that this princely builder erected his most splendid structures. Among these were a magnificent temple consecrated to the goddesses Venus and Roma, and a vast mausoleum erected on the banks of the Tiber and designed as a tomb for himself.

521. The Antonines (A.D. 138–180). — Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, and his successor, gave the Roman Empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years the empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which fact, as many have not

failed to observe, illustrates admirably the oft-repeated epigram, "Happy is that people whose annals are brief."

Antoninus, early in his reign, had united with himself in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. Aurelius' studious habits won for him the title of Philosopher. He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His *Meditations* breathe the tenderest sentiments of devotion and benevolence, and make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of



FIG. 162. — BESIEGING A DACIAN CITY. (From Trajan's Column)

pagan antiquity. He established an institution or home for orphan girls, and, finding the poorer classes throughout Italy burdened by their taxes and greatly in arrears in paying them, he caused all the tax claims to be heaped in the forum and burned.

The tastes and sympathies of Aurelius would have led him to choose a life passed in retirement and study at the capital; but hostile movements of the Parthians, and especially invasions of the barbarians along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers, called him from his books and forced him to spend most of the latter years of his reign in the camp. The Parthians, who had violated their treaty with Rome, were chastised by the lieutenants of the emperor, and a part of Mesopotamia again fell under Roman authority (A.D. 165).

This war drew after it a series of terrible calamities. The returning soldiers brought with them the Asiatic plague, which swept off vast numbers, especially in Italy, where entire cities and districts were depopulated. The empire never wholly recovered from the effects of this pestilence. In the general distress and panic the superstitious people were led to believe that it was the new sect of Christians that had called down upon the nation the anger of the gods. Aurelius permitted a fearful persecution to be instituted against them, during which the celebrated Christian fathers, Justin Martyr at Rome and the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, suffered death.

It should be noted that the persecution of the Christians under the pagan emperors sprang from political and social rather than from religious motives, and that is why we find the names of the best emperors, as well as those of the worst, in the list of persecutors. It was believed that the welfare of the state was bound up with the careful performance of the rites of the national worship; and hence, while the Roman rulers were usually very tolerant, allowing all forms of worship among their subjects, still they required that men of every faith should at least recognize the Roman gods and burn incense before their statues. This the Christians steadily refused to do. Their neglect of the services of the temple, it was believed, angered the gods and endangered the safety of the state, bringing upon it drought, pestilence, and every disaster. This was a main reason of their persecution by the pagan emperors.

But pestilence and persecution were both forgotten amidst the imperative calls for immediate help that now came from the North. The barbarians were pushing in the Roman outposts and pouring over the frontiers. A tribe known as the Marcomani even crossed the Alps and laid siege to Aquileia. Not since the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones (sec. 469) had the inhabitants of any city of Italy seen the barbarians before their gates. To the panic of the plague was added this new terror. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions and hurried beyond the Alps. He checked the inroads of the barbarians, but could not subdue

them, so weakened was the empire by the ravages of the pestilence and so exhausted was the treasury from the heavy and constant drains upon it. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna) in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 180).

The united voice of the senate and people pronounced him a god, and divine worship was accorded to his statue. Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after ages."

522. The State of the Provinces. — The close of the auspicious era of the Antonines invites us to cast a glance over the empire, in order that we may note the condition of the population at large. As we have already observed, the great revolution which brought in the empire was a revolution which redounded to the interests of the provincials.⁸ Even under the worst emperors the administration of affairs in the provinces was as a rule prudent, humane, and just. It is probably true that, embracing in a single view all the countries included in the Roman Empire, the second century of the Christian era marks the happiest period in their history. Without question there is no basis for a comparison, but only for a contrast, between the condition of the countries of the East and of North Africa under the earlier Roman emperors and the condition of the same lands to-day under their arbitrary and rapacious Mohammedan rulers. Many cities which in the earlier period numbered their citizens by tens and even hundreds of thousands are at the present time represented by miserable villages of a few hundred inhabitants.

The cities and towns of the Eastern countries, as well as hundreds of similar communities in Spain, in Gaul, in Britain, and in other lands of the West, were enjoying, under the admirable municipal system developed by the Romans, a measure of local

⁸ Consult secs. 496 and 505.

self-government probably equal to that enjoyed at the present time by the municipalities of the most advanced of the countries of modern Europe. This wise system had preserved or developed the sentiment of local patriotism and civic pride. The cities vied with one another in the erection of theaters, amphitheaters, baths, temples, and triumphal arches, and in the construction of aqueducts, bridges, and other works of a utilitarian nature. In these undertakings they were aided not only by liberal contributions made by the emperors from the imperial treasury, but by the generous gifts and bequests of individual citizens. Private

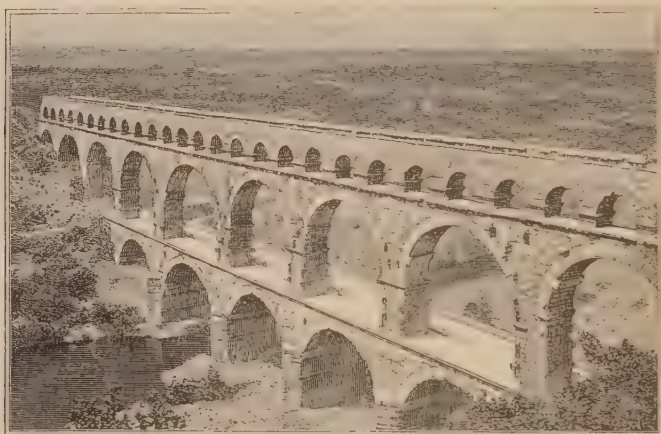


FIG. 163. — ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE
(Present condition)

This aqueduct was built by the emperor Antoninus Pius

munificence of this character was as remarkable a feature of this age as is the liberality of individuals at the present day in the endowment of educational and charitable institutions. As the representative of this form of ancient liberality, we have Herodes Atticus (about A.D. 104-180), a native of Athens. He was the Andrew Carnegie of his time. With a truly royal munificence he built at his own expense at Athens a splendid marble stadium large enough to hold the entire population of the city. To the

city of Troas in Asia Minor he made a gift equivalent to over a half million dollars to aid the inhabitants in the construction of an aqueduct.

Scores of majestic ruins scattered throughout the lands once forming the provinces of the ancient empire of Rome bear impressive testimony not only as to the populousness, culture, and enterprise of the urban communities of the Roman dominions, but also as to the generally wise, fostering, and beneficent character of the earlier imperial rule.

Selections from the Sources. — TACITUS, *Annals*, i. 74, the "Informer" at Rome; and his *Life of Agricola*. *The Early Christian Persecutions* (Translations and Reprints, Univ. of Penn., vol. iv, No. 1). Read Pliny's letter to Trajan and Trajan's reply.

References (Modern). — GIBBON, chap. ii, "Of the Union and Internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines"; and chap. iii, "Of the Constitution of the Empire in the Age of the Antonines." PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 470-541. BURY, *The Roman Empire*, chaps. xxv-xxx. DILL, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*; for general reference. MILMAN, *The History of Christianity*, vol. ii, bk. ii, chaps. iv-vii. RAMSAY, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, chap. x, "Pliny's Report and Trajan's Rescript"; chap. xi, "The Action of Nero towards the Christians"; and chap. xv, "Causes and Extent of Persecutions." FREEMAN, *Historical Essays* (Second Series), "The Flavian Emperors." BOISSIER, *Rome and Pompeii*, chap. vi, "Pompeii." DYER, *Pompeii, its History, Building and Antiquity*. MAU, *Pompeii: its Life and Art*. WATSON, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, chap. vii, "The Attitude of Aurelius towards Christianity." CAPES, *The Age of the Antonines and The Early Empire*. In this latter work read chap. xii, "The Position of the Emperor"; chap. xviii, "The Moral Standard of the Age"; and chap. xix, "The Revival of Religious Sentiment." The survey in these chapters embraces the first century only of the empire. HARDY, *Christianity and the Roman Government*; a valuable study of the relations of the Christians to the imperial government during the first two centuries of the empire. LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, chap. vii, "Christian Cemeteries"; for the story of the Catacombs.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The conquest of Britain by Claudius. 2. Persecution of the Christians under Nero. 3. The siege of Jerusalem by Titus. 4. Pompeii and what we have learned of Roman life from its remains. 5. The Hadrian Wall in Britain. See *Bruce*. 6. Marcus Aurelius; his *Meditations*.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE EMPIRE UNDER COMMODUS AND "THE BARRACK EMPERORS"

(A.D. 180-284)

523. Reign of Commodus (A.D. 180-192). — Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius and the last of the Antonines, was a most unworthy successor of his illustrious father. For three years, however, surrounded by the able generals and wise counselors that



FIG. 164. — **COMMODUS** (as Hercules)
(From bust found in the Horti
Lamiani, Rome)

the prudent administration of the preceding emperors had drawn to the head of affairs, Commodus ruled with fairness and lenity, when an unsuccessful conspiracy against his life seemed suddenly to kindle all the slumbering passions of a Nero. He secured the favor of the rabble with the shows of the amphitheater and purchased the support of the prætorians with bribes and flatteries. Thus he was enabled for ten years to retain the throne, while perpetrating all manner of cruelties and staining the imperial purple with the

most detestable debaucheries and crimes.

Commodus had a passion for gladiatorial combats. He even descended into the arena himself. Attired in a lion's skin and

armed with the club of Hercules, he valiantly set upon and slew antagonists arrayed to represent mythological monsters and armed with great sponges for rocks. The servile senate conferred upon him the title of the Roman Hercules and voted him the additional surnames of Pius and Felix. The empire was finally relieved of the insane tyrant by some members of the royal household, who anticipated his designs against themselves and put him to death.

524. "The Barrack Emperors." — For nearly a century after the death of Commodus (from A.D. 192 to 284) the emperors were elected by the army, and hence the rulers for this period have been called "the Barrack Emperors." The character of the period is revealed by the fact that of the twenty-five emperors who mounted the throne during this time all except four came to death by violence. To internal disorders were added the terror of barbarian invasions. On every side savage hordes were breaking into the empire to rob, to murder, and to burn.

525. The Public Sale of the Empire (A.D. 193). — The beginning of these troublous times was marked by a shameful proceeding on the part of the prætorians. Upon the death of Commodus, Pertinax, a distinguished senator, was placed on the throne; but his efforts to enforce discipline among the prætorians aroused their anger, and he was slain by them after a short reign of only three months. These soldiers then gave out notice that they would sell the empire to the highest bidder. It was accordingly set up for sale at the prætorian camp and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who promised twenty-five thousand sesterces to each of the twelve thousand soldiers at this time composing the guard. So the price of the empire was three hundred million sesterces (about \$12,000,000).

But these turbulent and insolent soldiers at the capital of the empire were not to have things entirely their own way. As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose in indignant revolt. Each of the three armies that held the Euphrates, the Rhine, and the Danube proclaimed its favorite commander emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy

and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The prætorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days.

526. Reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211). — One of the first acts of Severus was to organize a new bodyguard of fifty thousand legionaries to take the place of the unworthy prætorians, whom, as a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state, he disbanded and banished from the capital. He next crushed his two rival competitors and was then undisputed master of the empire. He put to death forty senators for having favored his late rivals and completely destroyed the power of that body.

Committing to the prefect of the new prætorian guard the management of affairs at the capital, Severus passed the greater part of his long and prosperous reign upon the frontiers. At one time he was chastising the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, and at another pushing back the Caledonian tribes from the Hadrian Wall in the opposite corner of his dominions. At length, in Britain, in his camp at York, death overtook him.

527. Reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217). — Severus conferred the empire upon his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Caracalla murdered his brother and then ordered Papinian, the celebrated jurist, to make a public argument in vindication of the fratricide. When that great lawyer refused, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he put him to death. Thousands fell victims to the tyrant's senseless rage.* Driven by remorse and fear, he fled from the capital and wandered about the most distant provinces. At Alexandria, on account of some uncomplimentary remarks made by the citizens upon his personal appearance, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Finally, after a reign of six years, the monster was slain in a remote corner of Syria.

Caracalla's sole political act of real importance was the bestowal of citizenship upon all the free inhabitants of the empire; and this he did, not to give them a just privilege, but that he might collect from them certain special taxes which only Roman citizens had to pay. Before the reign of Caracalla it was only particular classes of the provincials, or the inhabitants of some particular city or province,

that, as a mark of special favor, had from time to time been admitted to the rights of citizenship. But by this wholesale act of Caracalla the entire free population of the empire outside of Italy that did not already possess the



FIG. 165. — CARACALLA. (Museum at Naples)

rights of the city was made Roman, at least in name and nominal privilege. That vast work of making the whole world Roman, the beginnings of which we saw in the dawn of Roman history (sec. 391), was now completed.¹

528. The Age of the Thirty Tyrants (A.D. 251-268). — For about a generation after Caracalla the imperial scepter passed rapidly from the hands of one emperor to those of another. Then came the so-called Age of the Thirty Tyrants. The throne being held by weak emperors, there sprang up in every part of the empire competitors for it — several rivals frequently appearing in the field at the same time. The barbarians pressed upon all the

¹ It must not be supposed, however, that the edict of Caracalla did much more than register an already accomplished fact. It seems probable that by this time the greater part of the freemen of the empire were already enjoying the Roman franchise.

frontiers and thrust themselves into all the provinces. The empire seemed on the point of falling to pieces.² But a fortunate succession of five good emperors — Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus (A.D. 268–284) — restored for a time the ancient boundaries and again forced together into some sort of union the



FIG. 166. — TRIUMPH OF SAPOR OVER VALERIAN

Zenobia, the ruler of the celebrated city of Palmyra in the Syrian desert. This famous princess claimed descent from Cleopatra, and it is certain that in the charms of personal beauty she was the rival of the Egyptian queen. Boldly assuming the title of "Queen of the East," she bade defiance to Rome. Aurelian marched against her, and defeating her armies in the open field, drove them within the walls of Palmyra. After a long siege the city was taken, and, in punishment for a second uprising, given to the flames.³

The ruins of Palmyra are among the most interesting remains of Greek and Roman civilization in the East. For a long time even the site of the city was lost to the civilized world. The Bedouins, however, knew the spot, and told strange stories of a ruined city with splendid temples and long colonnades far away

fragments of the shattered state.

529. The Fall of Palmyra (A.D. 273).—The most noted of the usurpers of authority in the provinces during the period of anarchy of which we have spoken was

² It was during this period that the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253–260), in a battle with the Persians before Edessa, in Mesopotamia, was defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, the Persian king (sec. 541, n. 9). A large rock tablet (Fig. 166), still to be seen near the Persian town of Shiraz, is believed to commemorate the triumph of Sapor over the unfortunate emperor.

³ Zenobia was carried a captive to Rome. After having been led in golden chains in the triumphal procession of Aurelian, the queen was given a beautiful villa in the vicinity of Tibur, where, surrounded by her children, she passed the remainder of her checkered life.

in the Syrian desert. Their accounts awakened an interest in the wonderful city, and towards the close of the seventeenth century some explorers reached the spot. The sketches they brought back of the ruins of the long-lost city produced almost as much astonishment as did the discoveries at a later time of Botta and Layard at Nineveh. The principal features of the ruins are the remains of the great Temple of the Sun, and of the colonnade, which was almost a mile in length. Many of the marble columns that flanked this magnificent avenue are still erect, stretching in a long line over the desert.

References. — MOMMSEN, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Cæsar to Diocletian*. FREEMAN, *Historical Essays* (Third Series), "The Illyrian Emperors and their Lands." GIBBON, chaps. iv-xii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. vi, chap. ii. WRIGHT, *An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia*.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The New Persian Empire. 2. Zenobia, Queen of the East. 3. The ruins of Palmyra.



CHAPTER XLVIII

THE REIGNS OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

I. THE REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 284-305)

530. General Statement. — The accession of Diocletian marks an important era in the history of the Roman Empire. The two matters of chief importance connected with his reign are the changes he effected in the government and his persecution of the Christians.

Diocletian's governmental reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.

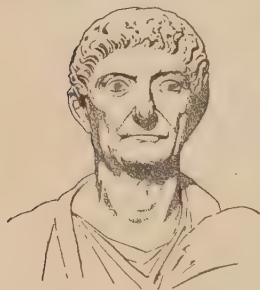


FIG. 167. — DIOCLETIAN
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

531. The Empire becomes an Undisguised Oriental Monarchy. — Up to the time we have now reached the really monarchical character of the government was more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old republic. Realizing that republican government among the Romans had passed away forever, and that its forms were now absolutely meaningless, Diocletian

cast aside all the masks with which Augustus had concealed his practically unlimited power and which fear or policy had led his successors, with greater or less consistency, to retain, and let the government stand forth naked in its true character as an absolute Asiatic monarchy. In contrasting the policy of Augustus with that of Diocletian, Gibbon truly says: "It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded powers which the emperors possessed over the Roman world."

The change was marked by Diocletian's assumption of the titles of Asiatic royalty and his adoption of the court ceremonials and etiquette of the East. He clothed himself in magnificent robes of silk and gold. All who approached him, whether of low or of high rank, were required to prostrate themselves to the ground, a form of Oriental and servile adoration which the free races of the West had hitherto, with manly disdain, refused to render to their magistrates and rulers.

The imperial household also now assumed a distinctively Oriental character. Ostentation and extravagance marked all the appointments of the palace. Its apartments were crowded with retinues of servants and officers of every rank, and the person of the emperor was hedged around with all the "pomp and majesty of Oriental monarchy."

The incoming of the absolute monarchy meant, of course, the last blow to local municipal freedom. The little liberty that still survived in the cities or municipalities of the empire was virtually swept away. There was no place under the new government for any degree of genuine local independence and self-direction. Italy was now also reduced to a level in servitude with the provinces and was taxed and ruled like the other parts of the empire.

532. Changes in the Administrative System. — The century of anarchy which preceded the accession of Diocletian, and the death by assassination during this period of ten of the twenty-five wearers of the imperial purple,¹ had made manifest the need of a system which would discourage assassination and provide a regular mode of succession to the throne. Diocletian devised a system the aim of which was to compass both these ends. First, he chose as a colleague a companion ruler, Maximian, who, like himself, bore the title of Augustus. Then each of the co-emperors associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar and was considered the son and heir of the emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars.² Milan, in Italy, became the

¹ This enumeration does not include the so-called Thirty Tyrants, of whom many met death by violence.

² From the number of rulers, this government has received the name of *tetrarchy*.

capital and residence of Maximian ; while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the younger and more active Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, were assigned the government of the more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the empire was thus secured.

A most serious drawback to this system was the heavy expense involved in the maintenance of four courts with their endless retinues of officers and dependents. It was complained that the number of those who received the revenues of the state was greater than that of those who contributed to them. The burden of taxation grew unendurable. Husbandry in some regions ceased, and great numbers were reduced to beggary or driven into brigandage. The magistrates of the cities and towns were made responsible for the payment of the taxes due the government from their respective communities, and hence office holding became not an honor to be coveted but a burden to be evaded. It was this vicious system of taxation which more than any other one cause, after slavery, contributed to the depopulation, impoverishment, and final downfall of the empire.

533. Persecution of the Christians. — Towards the end of his reign Diocletian inaugurated against the Christians a persecution which continued long after his abdication, and which was the severest, as it was the last, waged against the Church by the pagan emperors. The Christians at this time were not numerous, but because of their close association, and because of the spirit which animated them, they formed by far the most influential party in the Roman state. The imperial decrees ordered that their churches should be torn down ; that the property of the new societies should be confiscated ; that the sacred writings of the sect should be burned ; and that the Christians themselves, unless they should join in the sacrifices to the gods of the state, should be pursued to death as outlaws.

For ten years, which, however, were broken by short periods of respite, the Christians were subjected to the fierce flames of

persecution. They were cast into dungeons, thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheater, burned over a slow fire, and put to death by every other mode of torture that ingenious cruelty could devise. But nothing could shake their constancy. They courted the death that secured them, as they firmly believed, immediate entrance upon an existence of unending happiness. The exhibition of devotion and steadfastness shown by the martyrs won multitudes to the persecuted faith.

It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sometimes sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subterranean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome. Here they buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their hope and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.

534. The Abdication of Diocletian (A.D. 304). — After a prosperous reign of twenty years, becoming weary of the cares of state, Diocletian abdicated the throne and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius

and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars.

Diocletian, having thus enjoyed the extreme satisfaction of seeing the imperial authority quietly and successfully transmitted by his system, without the dictation of the insolent prætorians or the interference of the turbulent legionaries, now retired to his country seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and there devoted himself to rural pursuits. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor with him to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied, "Were you but to come to Salona and see the cabbages which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."



FIG. 168. — CHRIST AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD
(From the Catacombs)

II. REIGN OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (A.D. 306-337)

535. The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (A.D. 312); "In this sign conquer." — Galerius and Constantius, who became Augusti on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, had reigned together only one year when the latter died at York, in Britain. His soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine emperor. Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought to gain the supremacy.



FIG. 169.—THE
LABARUM

One of the most important of the battles that took place between the contending rivals for the imperial purple was the battle of the Milvian Bridge, about two miles from Rome, in which Maxentius, who was holding Italy and Africa, was defeated by Constantine. Constantine's standard on this celebrated battlefield was the Christian cross. He had been led to adopt this emblem through the appearance, as once he prayed to the sun-god, of a cross above the setting sun, with this inscription upon it: "In this sign conquer."³ Obedient unto the celestial vision, Constantine had at once made the cross his banner,⁴ and it was beneath this new emblem that his soldiers marched to victory at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

Whatever may have been the circumstances or the motives which led Constantine to make the cross his standard, this act of his constitutes a turning point in the history of the Roman Empire, and especially in that of the Christian Church. Christianity had come into the world as a religion of peace and good will. The Master had commanded his disciples to put up the sword, and had forbidden its use by them either in the spread or in the defense of

³ *In hoc signo vinces*; in Greek, ἐν τούτῳ νικά.

⁴ The new standard was called the *Labarum* (from the Celtic *lavar*, meaning *command*). It consisted of a banner inscribed with the Greek letters XP, the first being a symbol of the cross, and both forming a monogram of the word *Christ*. The letters are the initials of the Greek *Christos*.

the new faith. For three centuries now his followers had obeyed literally this injunction of the Founder of the Church, so that a Quaker, non-military spirit had up to this time characterized the new sect. By many of the early Christians the profession of arms had been declared to be incompatible with the Christian life.

Now in a moment all this was changed. The most sacred emblem of the new faith was made a battle standard, and into the new religion was infused the military spirit of the imperial

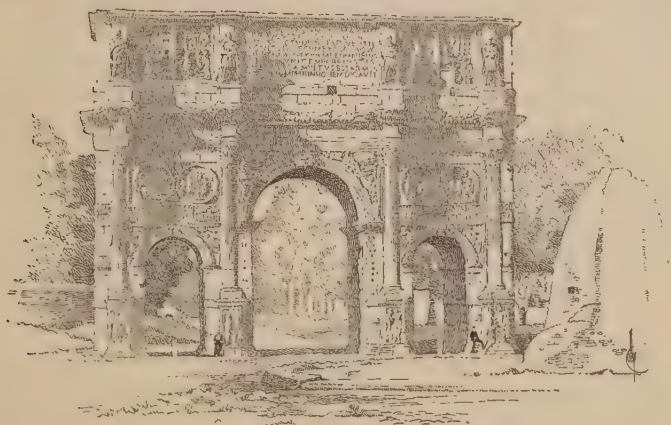


FIG. 170. — ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

Erected by the Roman senate in commemoration of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge

government that had made that emblem the ensign of the state. From the day of the battle at the Milvian Bridge a martial spirit has animated the religion of the Prince of Peace. Since then, Christian warriors have often made the cross their battle standard. This infusion into the Church of the military spirit of Rome was one of the most important consequences of the espousal of the Christian cause by the Emperor Constantine.

536. Constantine makes Christianity the Religion of the Court. — By a decree issued at Milan A.D. 313, the year after the battle at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine placed Christianity on an

equal footing with the other religions of the empire. The language of this famous edict of toleration, the Magna Charta, as it has been called, of the Church, was as follows: "We grant to Christians and to all others full liberty of following that religion which each may choose."

But by subsequent edicts Constantine made Christianity in effect the state religion and extended to it a patronage which he withheld from the old pagan worship. By the year A.D. 321 he had granted the Christian societies the right to receive gifts and legacies, and he himself enriched the Church with donations of money and grants of land. This marks the beginning of the great possessions of the Church, and with these the entrance into it of a worldly spirit. From this moment can be traced the decay of its primitive simplicity and a decline from its early high moral standard. It is these deplorable results of the imperial patronage that Dante laments in his well-known lines :

Ah, Constantine ! of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee !⁵

Another of Constantine's acts touching the new religion is of special historical interest and importance. He recognized the Christian Sunday, "the day of the sun," as a day of rest, forbidding ordinary work on that day, and ordering that Christian soldiers be then permitted to attend the services of their Church. This recognition by the civil authority of the Christian Sabbath meant much for the slave. Now, for the first time in the history of the Aryan peoples, the slave had one day of rest in each week. It was a good augury of the happier time coming when all the days should be his own.

537. The Church Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325). — With the view of harmonizing the different sects that had sprung up among the Christians, and to settle the controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians⁶ respecting the nature of Christ, — the former

⁵ *Inferno*, xix, 115–117.

⁶ The Arians were the followers of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria in Egypt; the Athanasians, of Athanasius, archdeacon and later bishop of the same city, and the champion of the orthodox or Catholic view of the Trinity.

denied his equality with God the Father, — Constantine called the first Œcumenical or General Council of the Church at Nicæa, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

538. Constantine founds Constantinople, the New Rome, on the Bosphorus (A.D. 330). — After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosphorus, as the new capital of the empire. There were many and weighty reasons urging Constantine to establish a new capital in the East.

First, there were urgent military reasons for making the change. The most dangerous enemies of the empire now were the barbarians behind the Danube and the kings of the recently restored Persian monarchy. This condition of things rendered almost necessary the establishment in the East of a new and permanent basis for military operations, and pointed to Byzantium, with its admirable strategic position, as the site, above all others, adapted to the needs of the imperiled empire.

Second, there were also commercial reasons for the transfer of the capital. Rome had long before this ceased to be in any sense the commercial center of the state, as it was in early times. Through the Roman conquest of Greece and Asia, the center of the population, wealth, and commerce of the empire had shifted eastward. Now, of all the cities in the East, Byzantium was the one most favorably situated to become the commercial metropolis of the enlarged state.

Third, there were religious motives. The priests of the pagan shrines particularly resented the action of Constantine in espousing the new and hated religion, and regarded him as an apostate. It was the existence of these sentiments and feelings among the inhabitants of Rome, which, for one thing, led Constantine to seek elsewhere a new center and seat for his court and government.

But far outweighing all other reasons for the removal of the capital were the political motives. Constantine, like Diocletian, wished to establish a system of government modeled upon the

despotic monarchy of the East. Now, the traditions, the feelings, the temper of the population of Rome constituted the very worst basis conceivable for such a political system. The Romans could not forget — never did forget — that they had once been masters and rulers of the world. Even after they had become wholly unfit to rule themselves, let alone the ruling of others, they still retained the temper and used the language of masters. Constantine wisely determined to seek in the submissive and servile populations of the East, always accustomed to the rendering of obsequious homage to their rulers, a firm basis for the structure of that absolute monarchy the foundations of which had been laid by his predecessor Diocletian.

The site for the new capital having been determined upon, the artistic and material resources of the whole Græco-Roman world were called into requisition to create upon the spot a city worthy its predestined fortunes. The imperial invitation and the attractions of the court induced multitudes to crowd into the new capital, so that almost in a day the old Byzantium grew into a great city. In honor of the emperor the name was changed to Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." The old Rome on the Tiber, emptied of its leading inhabitants, soon sank to the obscure position of a provincial town.

339. The Reorganization of the Government.— Another of Constantine's important acts was the reorganization of the government. In this great reform he seems to have followed, in the main, the broad lines drawn by Diocletian, so that his work may be regarded as a continuation of that of his predecessor.

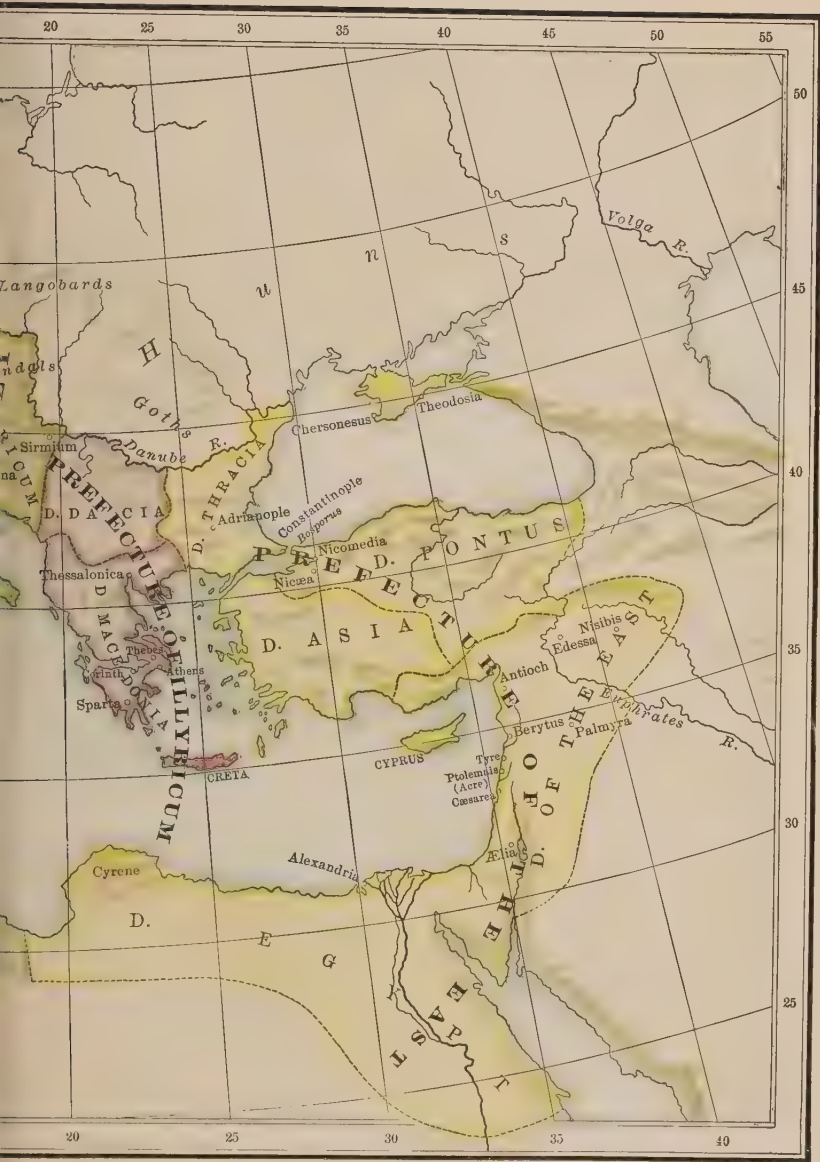
To aid in the administration of the government, Constantine laid out the empire into four great divisions called prefectures,⁷ which were subdivided into thirteen dioceses, and these again into one hundred and sixteen provinces.

The purpose that Constantine had in view in laying the empire out in so many and such small provinces was to diminish the power of the provincial governors, and thus make it impossible

⁷ See accompanying map. These prefectural divisions were essentially a perpetuation of the fourfold division of the empire that had been made by Diocletian.







for them to raise successfully the standard of revolt. The records of the empire show that during the one hundred and fifty years immediately preceding the accession of Constantine, almost one hundred governors of provinces had ventured to rebel against the imperial authority.

To give still further security to the throne, Constantine divided the civil and military powers, appointing two different sets of persons in each of the larger and smaller divisions of the state, the one set to represent the civil and the other the military authority.⁸

But this dual administrative system had its drawbacks. The great number of officials needed to man and work the complicated system increased greatly the expenses of the government, and made necessary the laying of still heavier burdens of taxation upon the already overburdened people.

540. The Imperial Court. — Perhaps we cannot better indicate the new relation to the empire into which the head of the Roman state was brought by the innovations of Diocletian and Constantine than by saying that the empire now became the private estate of the sovereign and was managed just as any great Roman proprietor managed his domain. The imperial household and the entire civil service of the government were simply such a proprietor's domestic establishment drawn on a large scale and given an Oriental cast through the influence of the courts of Asia.

This imperial court or establishment was, next after the body of the Roman law and the municipal system, the most important historical product that the old Roman world transmitted to the later nations of Europe. It became the model of the court of Charlemagne and the later emperors of the so-called Holy Roman Empire; and in the form that it reappeared here was copied by all the sovereigns of modern Europe.

541. The Pagan Restoration under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363). — Constantine transmitted his authority to his three sons, Constans, Constantius, and Constantine. This parceling out of the empire led to strife and wars, which at the end of sixteen years left Constantius master of the whole. He reigned as

⁸ Some authorities attribute this reform to Diocletian.

sole emperor for about eight years, engaged in ceaseless warfare with German tribes in the West and with the Persians⁹ in the East.

Constantius was followed by his cousin Julian, called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the pagan faith. In his earlier years Julian had been carefully nurtured in the doctrines of the new religion ; but later, in the schools of Athens and of other cities where he pursued his studies, he came under the influence of pagan teachers and his faith in Christian doctrines was undermined, while at the same time he conceived a great enthusiasm for the teachings of the Neoplatonists, and an unbounded admiration for the culture of ancient Hellas.

Julian, in his efforts to restore paganism, did not resort to direct persecution. Several things stood in the way of his doing this. First, his own philosophic and humane disposition forbade him in such a controversy to employ force as a means of persuasion. Second, the number of the Christians was now so great that measures of coercion could not be employed without creating dangerous disorder and disaffection. Third, resort could not be had to the old means of persuasion, — “the sword, the fire, the lions,” — for the reason that, under the softening influences of the very faith Julian sought to extirpate, the Roman world had already become imbued with a gentleness and humanity that rendered morally impossible the renewal of the Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian’s chief weapon was the pen, for he was a writer and satirist of no mean talent.

It was in vain that the apostate emperor labored to uproot the new faith ; for the purity of its teachings, the universal and eternal character of its moral precepts, had given it a name to live. Equally in vain were his efforts to restore the worship of the old Greek and Roman divinities. Polytheism was a form of religious belief which the world had now outgrown : Great Pan was dead.

⁹ The great Parthian Empire, which had been such a formidable antagonist of Rome, was, after an existence of five centuries, overthrown (A.D. 226) by a revolt of the Persians, and the New Persian or Sassanian monarchy established. This empire lasted till the country was overrun by the Saracens in the seventh century A.D.

The disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians were removed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363-364). In the army the old pagan standards were replaced by the Labarum, and Christianity was again made the religion of the imperial court.

Selections from the Sources. — *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iv, No. 1. Read "Edicts of Diocletian" and "Edict of Toleration by Galerius."

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Topics for Special Study. — 1. The two types of government, — the free popular government of the classical peoples and the Asiatic absolute monarchy. 2. The Diocletian persecution of the Christians. 3. The Christian Sabbath. 4. The Council of Nicæa. 5. The founding of Constantinople. 6. Julian and the pagan restoration.



CHAPTER XLIX

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

(A.D. 376-476)

542. Introductory : the Germans and Christianity. — Thus far in the history of the empire we have, for the most part, made the reigns of the emperors the framework of our narrative. We shall no longer follow this plan, for during the last century of the imperial period very few of the occupants of the throne were men of sufficient force or character to exert any influence upon the movement of events. To subdivide the period according to the length of their reigns would be an arbitrary and meaningless procedure.

It will be more instructive for us to turn our eyes away from the imperial throne and to notice what were the actual forces that were giving the events of the period their shape and course. These were the German barbarians and Christianity, — the two most vital elements in the Græco-Roman world of the fifth century. They had, centuries before this, as we have seen, come into certain relations to the Roman government and to Roman life ; but during the period lying immediately before us they assumed an altogether new historical interest and importance.

The two main matters, then, which will claim our attention during the century yet remaining for our study, will be (1) the struggle between the dying empire and the young German races of the North ; and (2) the final triumph of Christianity, through the aid of the temporal power, over expiring paganism.

543. The Goths cross the Danube (A.D. 376). — The year 376 of the Christian era marks an event of the greatest importance in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube, who had often in hostile bands crossed that river to war against the Roman emperors, now appeared as suppliants

in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Romans to cross the river and settle in Thrace, and promised, should this request be granted, ever to remain the grateful and firm allies of the Roman state.

The Eastern emperor, Valens,¹ consented to grant their petition on condition that they should surrender their arms and give up their children as hostages. Their terror and despair led them to assent to these conditions. So the entire nation, numbering about one million souls, — counting men, women, and children, — were allowed to cross the river. Several days and nights were consumed in the transport of the vast multitudes. The writers of the times liken the passage to that of the Hellespont by the hosts of Xerxes.

The enemy that had so terrified the Goths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen from the vast steppes of Asia. They were of a different race (the "Turanian") from that to which the Greeks and Romans and Germans belonged. Their features were hideous, their noses being flattened, and their cheeks gashed, to render their appearance more frightful as well as to prevent the growth of a beard. Even the Goths called them "barbarians."

Scarcely had the fugitive Visigoths been received within the limits of the empire before a large company of their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible Huns, crowded to the banks of the Danube and pleaded that they might be allowed, as their countrymen had been, to place the river between themselves and their dreaded enemies. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request; whereupon they, dreading the fierce and implacable foe behind more than the wrath of the Roman emperor in front, crossed the river with arms in their hands.

¹ Valens (A.D. 364-378). Valentinian (A.D. 364-375), emperor of the West, had just died, and been succeeded by Gratian (A.D. 375-383).

Once within the empire they, joined by their Visigothic kinsmen, soon began to overrun and ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens dispatched swift messengers to Gratian, emperor in the West, asking for assistance against the foe he had so unfortunately admitted within the limits of the empire. Meanwhile, he rallied all his forces, and, without awaiting the arrival of the Western legions, imprudently risked a battle with the barbarians near Adrianople. The Roman army was almost annihilated and Valens himself was killed (A.D. 378). The Goths now rapidly overran Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, ravaging the country up to the walls of Constantinople.

Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague Valens when news of his defeat and death at the hands of the barbarians was brought to him. He at once appointed as his associate Theodosius (A.D. 379-395), known afterwards as the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the Eastern provinces. Theodosius, by wise and vigorous measures, quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Great multitudes of the Visigoths were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while the Ostrogoths were scattered in various colonies in different regions of Asia Minor. The Goths became allies of the emperor of the East, and more than forty thousand of these warlike barbarians, who were destined to be the subverters of the empire, were enlisted in the imperial legions.

544. The Disestablishment of the Sacred Colleges; the Prohibition of the Pagan Cults. — Both Gratian and Theodosius were zealous champions of the orthodox Church, and a large portion of the edicts issued during their joint reign had for aim the uprooting of heresy or the suppression of the pagan worship. Gratian at his accession had taken away from the sacred colleges at Rome (sec. 386) their endowments and had caused to cease the payment of salaries to the members of these bodies. As places in these associations were held by the senators, the confiscation of the property of the colleges dealt paganism a heavy blow by bringing it about that the pagan party in the senate should no longer have a personal and material interest in maintaining the ancient religion.



MAP SHOWING
BARBARIAN INROADS
ON THE
FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
Movements shown down to A.D. 477

ENGLISH MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500

0 10 Longitude



The final blow to the old religion was given through the positive prohibition of the pagan cults. Speaking generally, from the accession of Constantine down to the time which we have now reached, the pagans had been allowed full toleration of worship. There was, during this period, what we call religious liberty, but not perfect religious equality ; for some of the Christian emperors favored their own faith in their legislation and in their appointments to office. But now paganism from being a tolerated became a proscribed religion.

It was Theodosius the Great who, by his effective measures against heathenism, earned the title of "the Destroyer of Paganism." At first he simply placed the pagans under many disabilities, but finally he made it a crime for any one to practice any pagan cult, or even to enter a temple. In the year A.D. 392 even the private worship of the Lares and Penates was prohibited. The struggle between Christianity and heathenism was now virtually ended—and the "Galilean" had conquered. Pagan rites, however, were practiced secretly long after this. Especially did the old home cults of the Lares and Penates linger on in the country districts, from which circumstance the term "pagan" (from *paganus*, the dweller in a *pagus* or "village") came to indicate a follower of the ancient idolatry.

545. Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose of Milan.—A memorable incident, illustrative of the influence of the new religion that was now fast taking the place of paganism, marks the reign of Theodosius the Great. In a sedition caused by the arrest and imprisonment of a favorite charioteer, the people of Thessalonica, in Macedonia, had murdered the general and several officers of the imperial garrison in that place (A.D. 390). When intelligence of the event reached Theodosius, who was at Milan, his hasty temper broke through all restraint, and, moved by a spirit of savage vengeance, he ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. The command was obeyed and at least seven thousand persons perished.

Shortly after the massacre, the emperor, as he was entering the door of the cathedral at Milan where he was wont to worship,

was met at the threshold by the pious Bishop Ambrose, who, in the name of the God of justice and mercy, forbade him to enter the sacred place until he had done public penance for his awful crime. The commander of all the Roman legions was constrained to obey the unarmed pastor. In penitential garb and attitude Theodosius made public confession of his sin and humbly underwent the penance imposed by the Church.

This passage of history is noteworthy as marking a stadium in the moral progress of humanity. It made manifest how with Christianity a new moral force had entered the world, how a sort of new and universal tribunician authority² had arisen in society to interpose, in the name of justice and humanity, between the weak and the defenseless and their self-willed and arbitrary rulers.

546. Final Division of the Empire (A.D. 395).—The Roman world was united practically for the last time under Theodosius the Great. From A.D. 392 to 395 he ruled as sole emperor. Just before his death he divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, assigning the former, who was only eighteen years of age, the government of the East, and giving the latter, a mere child of eleven, the sovereignty of the West. This division was not to affect the unity of the empire. There was to be but one empire, although there were to be two emperors. But as a matter of fact so different was the course of events in the two halves of the old empire that from this on we shall find it convenient to trace the history of each division separately.

547. The Empire in the East.—The story of the fortunes of the Empire in the East need not detain us long at this point of our history. The line of Eastern emperors lasted over a thousand years—until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the overthrow of the Empire in the West the emperors of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of different barbarian tribes. Frequently during this period, in order to save their own

² Compare sec. 402.

territories, they, by dishonorable inducements, persuaded the barbarians to direct their ravaging expeditions against the provinces of the West.

548. First Invasion of Italy by Alaric (A.D. 402-403). — Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all parts of the empire. First, from Thrace and Mœsia came the Visigoths, led by the great Alaric. They poured through the Pass of Thermopylæ and devastated almost the entire peninsula of Greece; but being driven from that country by Stilicho, the renowned Vandal general of Honorius, they crossed the Julian Alps and spread terror throughout all Italy. Stilicho followed the barbarians cautiously, and, attacking them at a favorable moment, inflicted a terrible and double defeat upon them at Pollentia and Verona (A.D. 402-403). The captured camp was found filled with the spoils of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta. Gathering the remnants of his shattered army, Alaric forced his way with difficulty through the defiles of the Alps and escaped.

549. Last Triumph at Rome (A.D. 404). — A terrible danger had been averted. All Italy burst forth in expressions of gratitude and joy. The days of the Cimbri and Teutones were recalled, and the name of Stilicho was pronounced along with that of Marius (sec. 469). A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the victory and the deliverance. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. Three hundred times — such is asserted to be the number — the Imperial City had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

550. Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheater. — The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome signalizes also the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheater. It is to Christianity that the credit of the suppression of these inhuman exhibitions is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. Thus Pliny commends a friend for giving a gladiatorial entertainment at the funeral of his wife. And when the pagan moralists

did condemn the spectacles, it was rather for other reasons than that they regarded them as inhuman and absolutely contrary to the rules of ethics. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldiers to the sights of the battlefield. Hence gladiatorial games were sometimes actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns.

But the Christian Fathers denounced the combats as absolutely immoral, and labored in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. The members of their own body who attended the spectacles were excommunicated. At length, in A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. This decree appears to have been very little regarded; nevertheless, from this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until their final abolition was brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk, named Telemachus, descending into the arena, rushed between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of missiles thrown by the people, who were angered by his interruption of their sports. The people, however, soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheater."

551. Invasion of Italy by Various German Tribes under Radagaisus (A.D. 405-406).—While Italy was celebrating her triumph over the Goths, another and more formidable invasion was preparing in the North. The tribes beyond the Rhine, — the Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and other peoples, — driven onward by some unknown cause, poured in impetuous streams from the forests and morasses of Germany, and, breaking through the barriers of the Alps, overspread the plains of Italy. The alarm caused by them among the Italians was even greater than that inspired by the Gothic invasion; for Alaric was a Christian, while Radagaisus, the leader of the new hordes, was a superstitious

savage, who paid worship to gods that required the bloody sacrifice of captive enemies.

By such efforts as Rome put forth in the younger and more vigorous days of the republic when Hannibal was at her gates, an army was now equipped and placed under the command of Stilicho. Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced as far as Florence, and were now besieging that place. Stilicho here surrounded the vast host — variously estimated from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand men — and starved them into a surrender. Their chief, Radagaisus, was put to death, and great numbers of the barbarians that the sword and famine had spared were sold as slaves (A.D. 406).

552. The Ransom of Rome (A.D. 409). — Shortly after the victory of Stilicho over the German barbarians, he came under the suspicion of the weak and jealous Honorius, and was executed. Thus fell the great general whose sword and counsel had twice saved Rome from the barbarians, and who might again have averted similar dangers that were now at hand. Listening to the rash counsel of his unworthy advisers, Honorius provoked to revolt the thirty thousand Gothic mercenaries in the Roman legions by a massacre of their wives and children, who were held as hostages in the different cities of Italy. The Goths beyond the Alps joined with their kinsmen to avenge the perfidious act. Alaric again crossed the mountains, and, pillaging the cities in his way, led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the time of the dread Hannibal (sec. 445) — more than six hundred years before this — had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls.

The barbarians by their vast numbers were enabled to completely surround the city, and thus cut it off from its supplies of food. Famine soon forced the Romans to sue for terms of surrender. The ambassadors of the senate, when they came before Alaric, began, in lofty language, to warn him not to render the Romans desperate by hard or dishonorable terms: their fury when driven to despair, they represented, was terrible, and their number enormous. "The thicker the grass, the easier to mow it," was

Alaric's derisive reply. The barbarian chieftain at length named the ransom that he would accept and spare the city. Small as it comparatively was, the Romans were able to raise it only by the most extraordinary measures. The images of the gods were first stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, and finally the statues themselves were melted down.

553. Sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410). — Upon retiring from Rome, Alaric established his camp in Etruria. Here he was joined by great numbers of fugitive slaves and by fresh accessions of barbarians from beyond the Alps. The chieftain now demanded for his followers lands of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe behind the marshes of Ravenna; but the emperor treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence.

Rome paid the penalty. Alaric turned upon the city, resolved upon its sack and plunder. The barbarians broke into the capital by night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Precisely eight hundred years had passed since its sack by the Gauls (sec. 413). During that time the Imperial City had carried its victorious standards over three continents, and had gathered within the temples of its gods and the palaces of its nobles the plunder of the world. Now it was given over for a spoil to the fierce tribes from beyond the Danube.

Alaric commanded his soldiers to respect the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian churches; but the wealth of the citizens he permitted them to make their own. For six days and nights the rough barbarians trooped through the streets of the city on their mission of pillage. Their wagons were heaped with the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the silken garments stripped from the palace of the Cæsars and the residences of the wealthy patricians. Amidst the license of the sack, the barbarian instincts of the robbers broke loose from all restraint, and the streets of the city were wet with blood, while the nights were lighted by burning buildings.

554. Effects of the Disaster upon Paganism. — The overwhelming disaster that had befallen the Imperial City produced a profound impression upon both pagans and Christians throughout the Roman

world. The pagans asserted that these unutterable calamities had overtaken the Roman people because of their abandonment of the worship of the gods of their forefathers, under whose protection and favor Rome had become the mistress of the world.

The Christians, on the other hand, saw in the fall of the city the fulfillment of the prophecies of their Scriptures against the Babylon of the Apocalypse. It was this interpretation of the appalling calamity that gained credit amidst the panic and despair of the times. "Henceforth," says the historian Merivale, "the power of paganism was entirely broken, and the indications which occasionally meet us of its continued existence are rare and trifling. Christianity stepped into its deserted inheritance."

555. The Death of Alaric (A.D. 410). — After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other districts of Southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars, and drank from jeweled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric led his soldiers to the extreme southern point of Italy, intending to cross the straits of Messina into Sicily, and, after subduing that island, to carry his conquests into the provinces of Africa. His designs were frustrated by his death, which occurred A.D. 410. With religious care his followers secured the body of their hero against molestation by his enemies. The little river Busentinus, in Northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

556. The Disintegration of the Empire and the Beginnings of the Barbarian Kingdoms (A.D. 410-451).³ — We must now turn

³ We choose these dates for the reason that they set off the interval between two great events, namely, the sack of Rome by Alaric (sec. 553) and the battle of Châlons (sec. 557).

our eyes from Rome and Italy in order to watch the movement of events in the western provinces of the empire. During the forty years following the sack of Rome by Alaric, the German tribes seized the greater part of these provinces and established in them what are known as the "Barbarian Kingdoms."

The Goths who had pillaged Rome and Italy, after the death of their great chieftain Alaric, under the lead of his successors, recrossed the Alps, and establishing their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, set up finally in those regions what is known as the Kingdom of the Visigoths or West Goths.

While the Goths were making these migrations and settlements, a kindred but less civilized tribe, the Vandals, moving from their seat in Pannonia, traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and there occupied for a time a large tract of country, which in its present name of *Andalusia* preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. Then they crossed the straits of Gibraltar, overthrew the Roman authority in all Northern Africa, and made Carthage the seat of a short-lived but dreaded corsair empire (A.D. 439).

About this same time the Burgundians, who, like the Vandals, were close kin of the Goths, partly by negotiations with the Romans and partly by force of arms, established themselves in Southeastern Gaul and laid there the basis of what is called the Kingdom of the Burgundians. A portion of the region occupied by these German settlers still retains from them the name of *Burgundy*.

Meanwhile the Franks, who about a century before the sack of Rome by Alaric had made their first settlement in Roman territory west of the Rhine, were increasing in numbers and in authority, and were laying the basis of what after the fall of Rome was to become known as the Kingdom of the Franks,—the beginning of the French nation of to-day.

But the most important of all the settlements of the barbarians was being made in the remote province of Britain. In his efforts to defend Italy against her barbarian invaders, Stilicho had withdrawn the last legion from Britain, and had thus left unguarded the Hadrian Wall in the North (sec. 520) and the long coast line

facing the continent. The Picts of Caledonia, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the guardians of the province, swarmed over the unsentined rampart and pillaged the fields and towns of the South. The half-Romanized and effeminate provincials — no match for their hardy kinsmen who had never bowed their necks to the yoke of Rome — were driven to despair by the ravages of their relentless enemies, and, in their helplessness, invited to their aid the Angles and Saxons from the shores of the North Sea. These people came in their rude boats, drove back the invaders, and, being pleased with the soil and climate of the island, took possession of the country for themselves and became the ancestors of the English people.

557. Invasion of the Huns; Battle of Châlons (A.D. 451). — The barbarians that were thus overrunning and parceling out the inheritance of the dying empire were now in turn pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than were they in the sight of the peoples among whom they had thrust themselves. These were the non-Aryan Huns, of whom we have already caught a glimpse as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube (sec. 543). At this time their leader was Attila, whom the affrighted inhabitants of Europe called the "Scourge of God." It was Attila's boast that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of his horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern emperor and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. Finally he turned westward, and, at the head of a host numbering, it is asserted, seven hundred thousand warriors, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, purposing first to ravage that province and then to traverse Italy with fire and sword, in order to destroy the last vestige of the Roman power.

The Romans and their German conquerors united to make common cause against the common enemy. The Visigoths were rallied by their king, Theodoric; the Italians, the Franks, the Burgundians flocked to the standard of the able Roman general Aëtius.⁴ Attila drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of

⁴ Aëtius has been called "the last of the Romans." For twenty years previous to this time he had been the upholder of the imperial authority in Gaul.

Châlons, in the north of Gaul, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The conflict was long and terrible. Theodoric was slain ; but at last fortune turned against the barbarians. The loss of the Huns is variously estimated at from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand warriors. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine (A.D. 451).

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history ; for it decided that the Christian German folk, and not the pagan Scythic Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring Roman Empire and control the destinies of Europe.

558. Attila threatens Rome ; his death (A.D. 453?).—The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila crossed the Alps and burned or plundered all the important cities of Northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings there grew up in time the city of Venice, “ the eldest daughter of the Roman Empire,” the “ Carthage of the Middle Ages.”

The barbarians threatened Rome ; but Pope Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila how death had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the Imperial City as a spoil to his warriors, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of Heaven. To these admonitions of the Christian bishop was added the persuasion of a bribe from the emperor, Valentinian ; and Attila was induced to spare Southern Italy and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube he died suddenly in his camp, and like Alaric was buried secretly. His followers gradually withdrew from Europe into the wilds of their native Scythia, or were absorbed by the peoples they had conquered.

559. Sack of Rome by the Vandals (A.D. 455).—Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sent out another enemy whose greed for plunder proved more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal.

The kings of the Vandal empire in Northern Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the Western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and even plundered the maritime towns of the provinces of the Roman Empire in the East. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet led by the dread Geiseric (Genseric) sailed up the Tiber.

Panic seized the people, for the name Vandal was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of Attila, went forth to intercede in the name of Christ for the Imperial City. Geiseric granted to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the movable property of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the ruthless barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them (sec. 553), with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their ornaments and furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories.⁵ From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred articles that Titus had stolen from the temple at Jerusalem (sec. 515).

The greed of the barbarians was sated at last, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet sailed for Carthage,⁶ bearing, besides the plunder of the city, more than thirty thousand of the inhabitants as slaves. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Scipio had fallen true (sec. 460). The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged city that the Vandals left behind them.

⁵ It would seem that, in some instances at least, after the closing of the temples to the pagan worship, many of the sacred things, such as war trophies, were left undisturbed in the edifices where they had been placed during pagan times.

⁶ "The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost." — MERIVALE.

560. End of the Roman Empire in the West (A.D. 476). — Only the shadow of the Empire in the West now remained. All the provinces — Illyricum, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa — were in the hands of the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Angles and Saxons, and various other intruding tribes. Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the barbarians. The story of the twenty years following the sack of the capital by Geiseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating.

During the years from A.D. 456 to 472 the real ruler in Italy was a Sueve, named Count Ricimer. He set up four emperors. Upon his death a Pannonian by the name of Orestes deposed the emperor then on the throne and placed the imperial crown upon the head of his own son, a child of only six years.

By what has been called a freak of fortune this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and the establisher of the empire. He became known as Augustulus — “the little Augustus.” He reigned only one year, when Odoacer, the leader of the Heruli, a small but formidable German tribe, having demanded one third of the lands of Italy to divide among his followers for services rendered the empire and having been refused, put Orestes to death and dethroned the child-emperor.

The Roman senate now sent to Constantinople an embassy with the royal vestments and the insignia of the imperial office to represent to the Eastern emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of “patrician,” might rule Italy as his viceroy. This was granted; and Italy now became in effect a province of the Empire in the East (A.D. 476).

561. The Import of the Break-up of the Roman Empire in the West. — The destruction of the Roman Empire in the West by the German barbarians is one of the most momentous events in history. It marks a turning point in the fortunes of mankind.

The revolution brought it about that for a long time the lamp of culture burned with lessened light. It brought in the so-called

"Dark Ages." During this period the new race was slowly lifting itself to the level of culture that the Greeks and Romans had attained.

But the revolution meant much besides disaster and loss. It meant the enrichment of civilization through the incoming of a new and splendidly endowed race. Within the empire during several centuries three of the most vital elements of civilization, the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, had been gradually blending. Now was added a fourth factor, the Germanic. It is this element which has had very much to do in making modern civilization richer and more progressive than any preceding one.

The downfall of the Roman imperial government in the West was, further, an event of immense significance in the political world for the reason that it rendered possible the growth in Western Europe of several nations or states in place of the single empire.

Another consequence of the fall of the Roman power in the West was the development of the Papacy. In the absence of an emperor in the West the popes rapidly gained influence and power, and soon built up an ecclesiastical empire that in some respects took the place of the old empire and carried on its civilizing work.

Selections from the Sources. — TACITUS, *Germania*; the most valuable original account that we possess of the life and manners of our German ancestors about the first century of our era.

References (Modern). — HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. i and ii; on the Visigothic, the Hunnish, and the Vandal invasion. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 557-572. MILMAN, *The History of Christianity*, vol. iii. DILL, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. A book of unsurpassed value. CURTEIS, *History of the Roman Empire* (from A.D. 395 to 800), chaps. vi-ix. GIBBON, chap. ix, "The State of Germany till the Invasion of the Barbarians in the time of the Emperor Decius." CHURCH, *The Beginnings of the Middle Ages*; read the Introduction and chap. i. CUTTS, *Saint Augustine*. CARR, *The Church and the Roman Empire*, chap. xiii, "The Fall of Paganism"; and chap. xviii, "Alaric and the Goths." FREEMAN, *The Three Chief Periods of European History*, lect. iii, "Rome and the New Nations." KINGSLEY, *The Roman and The Teuton*, lects. i-iii. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. vi, "The Battle of Châlons, A.D. 451." EMERTON, *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps. ii and iii. These chapters

cover admirably the following subjects: "The Two Races," "The Breaking of the Frontier by the Visigoths," and "The Invasion of the Huns." For the causes of the failure of the Empire in the West, see the following: HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii, pp. 532-613, "Causes of the Fall of the Western Empire." SEELEY, *Roman Imperialism*, lect. ii, pp. 37-64, "The Proximate Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire"; and BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. i, chap. iii, "Elements of Disintegration in the Roman Empire." Bury makes slavery, oppressive taxation, the importation of barbarians, and Christianity the four chief causes of the weakness and failure of the empire.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Manners and customs of the Germans. 2. Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose. 3. Alaric the Goth. 4. Attila the Hun. 5. Causes of the downfall of the Empire in the West.

CHAPTER L

ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, LAW, AND SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ROMANS

I. ARCHITECTURE

562. Greek Origin of Roman Architecture: the Arch.—The architecture of the Romans was, in the main, an imitation of Greek models. But the Romans were not mere servile imitators. They not only modified the architectural forms they borrowed, but they gave their structures a distinct character by the prominent use of the arch, which the Greek and Oriental builders seldom employed, though they were acquainted with its principle. By means of it the Roman builders vaulted the roofs of the largest buildings, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood to the present day.

563. Sacred Edifices.—The temples of the Romans were in general so like those of the Greeks that we need not here take space to enter into a particular description of them. Mention, however, should be made of their circular vaulted temples, as this



FIG. 171.— THE PANTHEON
(Present condition)

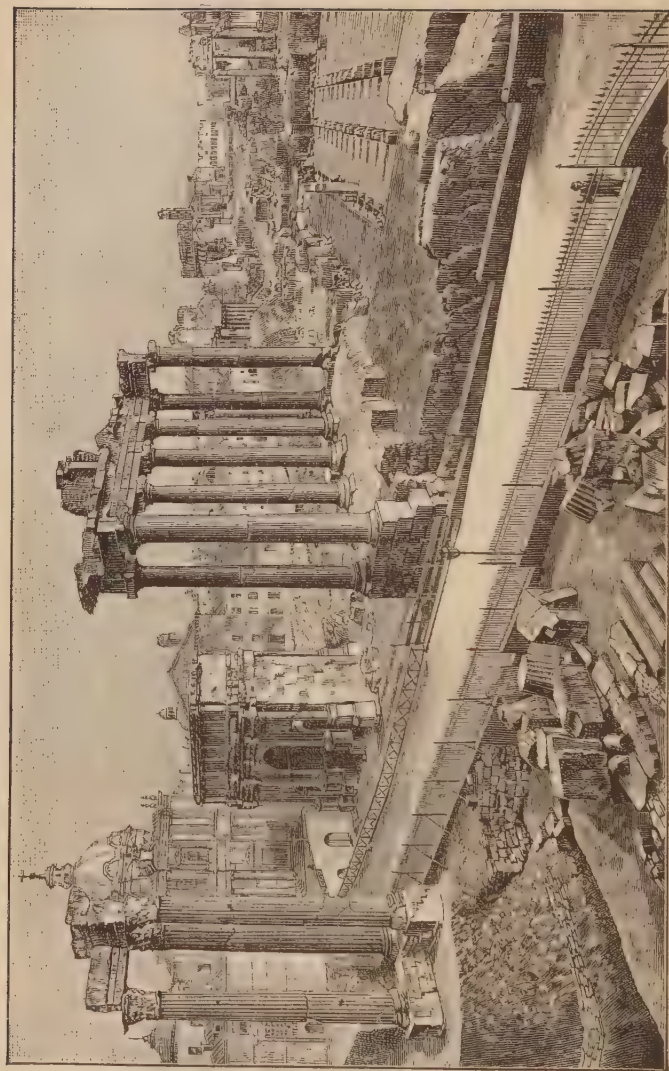


FIG. 172. — THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1885

was a style of building almost exclusively Italian. The best representative of this style of sacred edifices is the Pantheon at Rome, which has come down to our own times in a state of wonderful preservation.¹ This structure is about one hundred and



FIG. 173.—THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS. (A restoration)

forty feet in diameter. The immense concrete dome which vaults the building is one of the boldest pieces of masonry executed by the master builders of the world.

564. Circuses, Theaters, and Amphitheaters.—The circuses of the Romans were what we should call race courses. There were several at Rome, the most celebrated being the Circus Maximus, which was first laid out in the time of the Tarquins and afterwards enlarged as the population of the capital increased until it was capable of holding two or three hundred thousand spectators.

The Romans borrowed the plan of their theaters from the Greeks; their

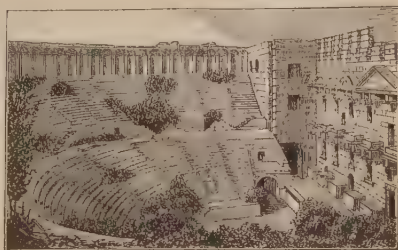


FIG. 174.—RUINS OF THEATER
AT ASPENDOS

amphitheaters, however, were original with them. The Flavian amphitheater, known as the Colosseum, has already come under our notice (sec. 515). The edifice was five hundred and seventy-four

¹ The original building was erected about 25 B.C. by M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus. Having been damaged by fire, it was rebuilt by Hadrian.

feet in its greatest diameter, and was capable of seating over forty thousand spectators. The ruins of this immense structure stand to-day as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the Roman Empire."

565. Aqueducts.—The aqueducts of ancient Rome were among the most important of the utilitarian works of the Romans. The water system of the capital was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.), who secured the building of an aqueduct which led water into the city from the Sabine hills. During the republic



FIG. 175. — THE COLOSSEUM. (From a photograph)

four aqueducts in all were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to fourteen.² The longest of these was about fifty-five miles in length. The aqueducts usually ran beneath the surface, but when a depression was to be crossed they were lifted on arches, which sometimes were over one hundred feet high.³ These lofty arches running in long, broken lines over the plains beyond the walls of Rome are the most striking feature of the Campagna at the present time.

² Several of these are still in use.

³ The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they could not make large pipes strong enough to resist the very great pressure to which they would be subjected.

566. Thermæ or Baths. — The greatest demand upon the streams of water poured into Rome by the aqueducts was made by the thermæ or baths. Among the ancient Romans bathing became in time a luxurious art. Under the republic bathing houses were erected in considerable numbers. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures to which the name Thermæ properly attaches, were erected. These edifices were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial works. They contained chambers for cold, hot, tepid, sudatory,



FIG. 176. — THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT. (From a photograph)

and swimming baths ; dressing rooms and gymnasia ; museums and libraries ; covered colonnades for lounging and conversation ; extensive grounds filled with statues and traversed by pleasant walks ; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation.⁴ Being intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, they were thrown open to the public free of charge.

567. Villas. — The residences of the wealthy Romans when located in the country were usually designated as villas. Every wealthy Roman possessed his villa, and many kept up several in different parts of Italy. These country residences, while retaining

⁴ Lanciani calls these imperial thermæ "gigantic clubhouses, whither the voluptuary and the elegant youth repaired for pastime and enjoyment."

all the conveniences of the city home, such as baths, museums, and libraries, added to these such adjuncts as were denied a place by the restricted room of the capital, — extensive gardens, fish ponds, vineyards, olive orchards, and parks. Perhaps the most noted of Roman villas was that of Hadrian at Tibur, now Tivoli.

568. Sepulchral Monuments. — The Romans in the earliest times seem usually to have disposed of their dead by burial; but towards the close of the republican period cremation or burning

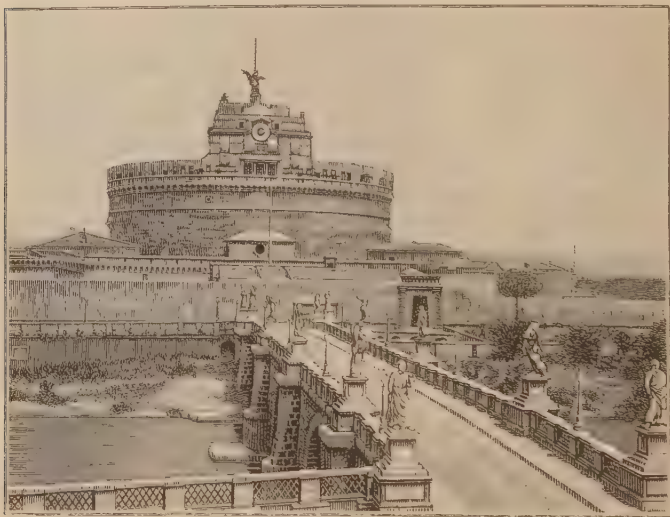


FIG. 177. — MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN, BUILT BY HIMSELF
AT ROME. (From a photograph)

Now the Castle of St. Angelo

became common. The incoming of Christianity with its doctrine of the resurrection of the body caused burying to become again the prevalent mode.

The favorite burying place among the Romans was along the highways; "for the dead were thought of as ever turning towards this life." The Appian Way, for a distance of several miles from

the gates of the capital, was lined with sepulchral monuments. Many of these in a ruined state still line the ancient highway.⁵

II. LITERATURE AND LAW

569. Relation of Roman to Greek Literature. — Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, being a reproduction of Greek models; still it performed a most important service for civilization, being the medium for the dissemination throughout the world of the rich literary treasures of Greece. The relation of Rome to Greece was exactly the same as that of Phœnicia to Egypt, as expressed by Lenormant: Greece was the mother of modern civilization; Rome was its missionary.

570. The Poets of the Republic. — It was the dramatic productions of the Greeks which were first copied and studied by the Romans. For nearly two centuries, from 240 to 78 B.C., dramatic literature was almost the only form of composition cultivated at Rome. During this epoch appeared all the great dramatists ever produced by the Latin-speaking race. Of these may be named Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, and Terence. All of these writers were close imitators of Greek authors, and most of their works were simply adaptations or translations of the masterpieces of the Greek dramatists.

Lucilius (b. 148 B.C.) was one of the greatest of Roman satirists. The later satirists of the corrupt imperial era were his imitators. Besides Lucilius there appeared during the later republican era only two other poets of distinguished merit, Lucretius and Catullus. Lucretius (95–51 B.C.) was an evolutionist, and in his great poem *On the Nature of Things* we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists. Catullus (b. about 87 B.C.) was a lyric poet. He has been called the Roman Burns, as well on account of the waywardness of his life as from the sweetness of his song.

571. Poets of the Augustan Age: Vergil, Horace, and Ovid. — Three poets have cast an unfading luster over the period covered

⁵ For examples of Roman triumphal columns and memorial arches, see Figs. 159, 170.

by the reign of Augustus, — Vergil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), and Ovid (43 B.C.–18 A.D.). So distinguished have these writers rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature signalized by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to this Roman era, an *Augustan Age*.

The three great works of Vergil are the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Æneid*. The *Eclogues* are a series of pastorals, which are very close imitations of the poems of the Sicilian Theocritus. In the *Georgics* Vergil extols and dignifies the husbandman and his labor. The work was written at the suggestion of Mæcenas, who hoped by means of the poet's verse to allure his countrymen back to that love for the art of husbandry which animated the fathers of the early Roman state. Throughout the work Vergil follows very closely the *Works and Days* of the Greek poet Hesiod (sec. 331).

The *Æneid* holds a place among the world's great epics. Through Æneas, the hero of the poem, Vergil doubtless intends to represent and compliment his patron Augustus. In this, his greatest work, Vergil was a close student of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and to them he is indebted for very many of his finest metaphors, similes, and descriptive passages.

Horace's *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* have all helped win for him his widespread fame; but the first best exhibit his genius and his subtle grace of expression.

Ovid's most celebrated work is his *Metamorphoses*, in which he describes between two and three hundred metamorphoses, or transformations, suffered by various persons, gods, heroes, and goddesses, as related in the innumerable fables of the Greek and Roman mythologies.

572. Satire and Satirists. — Satire thrives best in the reeking soil and tainted atmosphere of an age of selfishness, immorality, and vice. Such an age was that which followed the Augustan at Rome. Hence arose a succession of writers whose mastery of sharp and stinging satire has caused their productions to become the models of all subsequent attempts in the same species of literature.

Two names stand out in special prominence, — Persius (A.D. 34–62) and Juvenal⁶ (about A.D. 40–120). The works of these writers possess a special historical value and interest since they cast a strong side light upon life at Rome during the early portion of the imperial period.

The indignant protest of Persius and Juvenal against the vices and follies of their time is almost the last utterance of the Latin Muse. After the death of Juvenal the Roman world produced not a single poet of preëminent merit.

573. Oratory among the Romans. — “Public oratory,” as has been truly said, “is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it.” We have seen this illustrated in the history of republican Athens (sec. 342). Equally well is the same truth exemplified by the records of the Roman state. All the great orators of Rome arose under the republic. Among these Hortensius and Cicero stand preëminent.

Hortensius (114–50 B.C.) was a famous lawyer whose name adorns the legal profession at the capital both as the learned jurist and the eloquent advocate. His forensic talent won for him a lucrative law practice, through which he gathered an immense fortune.

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the contemporary and friend of Hortensius, is easily the first of Roman orators, — “the most eloquent of all the sons of Romulus.” Even more highly prized than his orations are his letters, for Cicero was a most delightful letter writer. His letters to his friend Atticus are among the most charming specimens of that species of composition.

574. Latin Historians. — Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame, — Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Suetonius may also be mentioned in this place, although his writings were rather biographical than historical.

Cæsar’s productions are his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and his *Memoirs of the Civil War*. His *Commentaries* will

⁶ Martial, an epigrammatic poet (b. about A.D. 40), was also a satirist of this period, but he rebuked only some of the minor vices of society.

always be cited along with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon as a model of the narrative style of writing.

Sallust (86–34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. As prætor of one of the African provinces, he amassed by harsh if not unjust exactions an immense fortune and erected at Rome a palatial residence with beautiful gardens, which became one of the favorite resorts of the literary characters of the capital. The two works upon which his fame rests are the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War*. Both of these productions are reckoned among the best examples of historical composition in the range of Latin literature.

Livy (59 B.C. – A.D. 17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is oftenest compared. His greatest work is his *Annals*, a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, only thirty-five of the one hundred and forty-two books⁷ of this admirable production have been preserved. Many have been the laments over “the lost books of Livy.” Livy loved a story equally well with Herodotus. Like the Greek historian, he was overcredulous, and relates with charming ingenuousness, usually without the least questioning of their credibility, all the legends and myths that were extant in his day respecting the early affairs of Rome. Modern criticism has shown that all the first portion of his history is entirely unreliable as a chronicle of actual events. However, it is a most entertaining account of what the Romans themselves thought and believed respecting the origin of their race, the founding of their city, and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

The works of Tacitus are his *Germania*, a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans, the *Life of Agricola*; his *History*, and his *Annals*. All of these are most admirable productions,

⁷ It should be borne in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Cæsar's *Gallic Wars*, which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books.

polished and graceful narratives, full of entertainment and instruction. In the *Germania* Tacitus sets in strong contrast the virtues of the untutored Germans and the vices of the cultured Romans.

575. Science, Ethics, and Philosophy. — Under this head may be grouped the names of Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and Quintilian.

Seneca (about A.D. 1–65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero (sec. 513). He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from those of Socrates.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as a naturalist. The only work of his that has been spared to us is his *Natural History*, a sort of "Roman Encyclopedia."

In connection with the name of Pliny the Elder must be mentioned that of his nephew, Pliny the Younger. His epistles, like the letters of Cicero, are among the most valuable of Roman prose productions that have come down to us.

Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first place among the ethical teachers of Rome. The former wrote his *Meditations* (sec. 521); but the latter, like Socrates, committed nothing to writing, so that we know of the character of his teachings only through one of his pupils, Arrian by name. Epictetus was for many years a slave at the capital, but, securing in some way his freedom, he became a teacher of philosophy. His name is inseparably linked with that of Marcus Aurelius as a teacher of the purest system of morals found outside of Christianity. Epictetus and Aurelius were the last eminent representatives and expositors of the philosophy of Zeno (sec. 356). Christianity, giving a larger place to the affections than did Stoicism, was already fast winning the hearts of men.



FIG. 178. — SENECA
(From the double bust of Seneca and Socrates in the Berlin Museum)

Quintilian (about A.D. 40-118) was the one great grammarian and rhetorician that the Roman race produced. For about a quarter of a century he was the most noted lecturer at Rome on educational and literary subjects. One of the booksellers of the capital, after much persuasion, finally prevailed upon the teacher to publish his lectures. They were received with great favor, and Quintilian's *Institutes* have never ceased to be studied and copied by all succeeding writers on education and rhetoric.⁸

576. Writers of the Early Latin Church.—The Christian authors of the first three centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. As the Latin tongue, however, gradually came into more general use throughout the West, the Christian authors naturally began to use it in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the fathers of the Church produced in the western half of the empire during the later imperial period were composed in Latin. From among the many names that adorn the Church literature of this period we shall select only two for special mention, — St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342?-420) was a native of Pannonia. For many years he led a monastic life at Bethlehem. He is especially held in memory through his translation of the Scriptures into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*, and is the one which, with slight changes, is still used in the Roman Catholic Church. "It was for Europe of the Middle Ages," asserts Mackail, "more than Homer was to Greece."

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354-430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. He was the most eminent writer of the Christian Church during the later Roman period. His *City of God*, a truly wonderful work, "possesses a special interest for the historian. The

⁸ The allusions which we have made to the publishing trade suggest a word respecting ancient publishers and books. There were in Rome several publishing houses, which in their day enjoyed a wide reputation and conducted a very extended business. "Indeed, the antique book trade," says Guhl, "was carried on on a scale hardly surpassed by modern times. . . . The place of the press in our literature was taken by the slaves." Through practice they gained surprising facility as copyists, and books were multiplied with great rapidity.

book was written just when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the pagans that Christianity, turning the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state.

577. Roman Law and Law Literature. — Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so far reviewed did much valuable work, yet the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance. Its work was largely imitative. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal and political science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

Our knowledge of the law system of the Romans begins with the legislation of the Twelve Tables, about 450 B.C. (sec. 406). Throughout all the republican period the laws were growing less harsh and cruel, and were becoming more liberal and scientific.

From 100 B.C. to A.D. 250 lived and wrote the most famous of the Roman jurists and law writers, who created the most remarkable law literature ever produced by any people. The great unvarying principles that underlie and regulate all social and political relations were by them examined, illustrated, and expounded. Gaius, Ulpian, Paulus, Papinian, and Pomponius are among the most renowned of the writers who, during the period just indicated, enriched by their writings and opinions this branch of Latin literature.

In the year A.D. 527 Justinian became emperor of the Roman Empire in the East. He almost immediately appointed a commission, headed by the great lawyer Tribonian, to collect and arrange in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists. The undertaking was like that of the decemvirs in connection with the Twelve Tables, only far greater. The result of the work of the commission was what is known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or "Body of the Civil Law." This consisted of three parts, — the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the

*Institutes.*⁹ The Code was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian ; the Pandects (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. The Institutes were a condensed edition of the Pandects, and were intended to form an elementary text-book for the use of students in the great law schools of the empire.

The body of the Roman law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization.¹⁰ It has exerted a profound influence upon the law systems of almost all the European peoples. Thus does the once little Palatine city of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

III. SOCIAL LIFE

578. Education. — Under the republic there were no public schools in Rome ; education was a private affair. Under the early empire a mixed system prevailed, there being both public and private schools. Later, education came more completely under the supervision of the state. The salaries of the teachers

⁹ A later work called the *Novels* comprised the laws of Justinian subsequent to the completion of the *Code*.

¹⁰ Notwithstanding that the Romans had much political experience and developed a wonderfully complex unwritten constitution, still, aside from their municipal and administrative systems, they made no permanent contribution to the art of government or to the science of constitutional law. It was left for the English people, practically unaided by Roman precedents, to work out the constitution of the modern free state. The primary assemblies of the Romans could afford no instructive precedents in the department of legislation. The practical working of the device of the dual executive of the republic was not calculated to commend it to later statesmen. The single admirable feature in the composition of the later republican senate of Rome, namely, the giving of seats in that body to ex-magistrates, has not been imitated by modern constitution makers, though James Bryce, in his commentary on the American Commonwealth, suggests that they might have done so to advantage in the making up of the upper chambers of their legislatures.

and lecturers were usually paid by the municipalities, but sometimes from the imperial chest.

Never was the profession of the teacher held in such esteem as among the later Romans. Teachers were made exempt from many public burdens and duties and were even invested with inviolability, like heralds and tribunes.

The education of the Roman boy differed from that of the Greek youth in being more practical.¹¹ The laws of the Twelve Tables were committed to memory ; and rhetoric and oratory were given special attention, as a mastery of the art of public speaking was an almost indispensable acquirement for the Roman citizen who aspired to take a prominent part in the affairs of state.

After their conquest of Magna Græcia and of Greece the Romans were brought into closer relations with Greek culture than had hitherto existed. The Roman youth were taught the language of Athens, often to the neglect, it appears, of their native tongue ; for we hear Cato the Censor complaining that the boys of his time spoke Greek before they could use their own language. Young men belonging to families of means not unusually went to Greece, just as the graduates of our schools go to Europe, to finish their education. Many of the most prominent statesmen of Rome, as, for instance, Cicero and Julius Cæsar, received the advantages of this higher training in the schools of Greece.

Somewhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the boy exchanged his purple-hemmed toga, or gown, for one of white wool, which was in all places and at all times the significant badge of Roman citizenship and Roman equality.

579. Social Position of Woman. — Until after her marriage the daughter of the family was kept in almost Oriental seclusion. Marriage gave her a certain freedom. She might now be present at the races of the circus and the shows of the theater and amphitheater, — a privilege rarely accorded to her before marriage.

In the early virtuous period of the Roman state the wife and mother held a dignified and assured position in the household, and divorces were unusual, there being no instance of one, it is

¹¹ Compare sec. 363.

said, until the year 231 B.C. ; but in later times her position became less honored and divorce grew to be very common. The husband had the right to divorce his wife for the slightest cause or for no cause at all. In this disregard of the sanctity of the family relation may doubtless be found one cause of the degeneracy and failure of the Roman stock.

580. Public Amusements ; the Theater and the Circus. — The entertainments of the theater, the games of the circus, and the combats of the amphitheater were the three principal public amusements of the Romans. These entertainments, in general, increased in popularity as liberty declined, the great festive gatherings at the various places of amusement taking the place of the political assemblies of the republic. The public exhibitions under the empire were, in a certain sense, the compensation which the emperors offered the people for their surrender of the right of participation in public affairs ; and the people were content to accept the exchange.

Tragedy was never held in high esteem at Rome ; the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheater to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage. The entertainments of the theaters usually took the form of comedies, farces, and pantomimes. The last were particularly popular, both because the vast size of the theaters made it quite impossible for the actor to make his voice heard throughout the structure and for the reason that the language of signs was the only language that could be readily understood by an audience made up of so many different nationalities as composed a Roman assemblage. Almost from the beginning the Roman stage was gross and immoral. It was one of the main agencies to which must be attributed the undermining of the originally sound moral life of Roman society.

More important and more popular than the entertainments of the theater were the various games of the circus, especially the chariot races.

581. Animal Baitings. — But far surpassing in their terrible fascination all other public amusements were the animal baitings and the gladiatorial combats of the amphitheater.

The beasts required for the baitings were secured in different parts of the world and transported to Rome and the other cities of the empire at enormous expense. The wildernesses of Northern Europe furnished bears and wolves; Scotland sent fierce dogs; Africa contributed lions, crocodiles, and leopards; Asia, elephants and tigers. These creatures were pitted against one another in every conceivable way. Often a promiscuous multitude would be turned loose in the arena at once. But even the terrific scene that then ensued became at last too tame to stir the blood of the Roman populace. Hence a new species of entertainments was introduced and grew rapidly into favor with the spectators of the amphitheater. This was the gladiatorial combat.

582. The Gladiatorial Combats. — Gladiatorial shows seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners upon the warrior's grave, it being thought that the manes of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In later times the prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than their cold-blooded slaughter.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by two sons at the funeral of their father in the year 264 B.C. This exhibition was arranged in one of the forums, as there were at that time no amphitheaters in existence. From this time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had become a perfect infatuation. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living that the spectacles were intended to appease. At first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and even women descended voluntarily into the arena. Training schools were established at Rome, Capua, Ravenna, and other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in the art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again, great companies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot — in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The contestants were armed with lances, swords, daggers, tridents, and every manner of weapon. Some were provided with nets and lassos with which they entan-

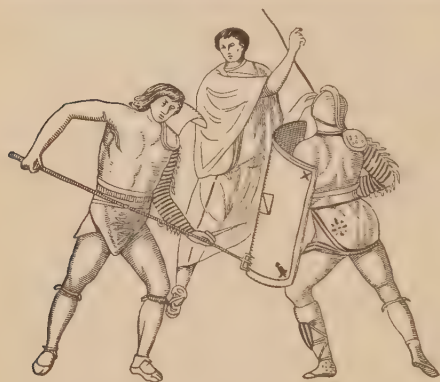


FIG. 179. — GLADIATORS. (From an ancient mosaic)

gled their adversaries and then slew them.

The life of a wounded gladiator was, in ordinary cases, in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the forefinger, the spectators waved their handkerchiefs or reached out their hands with thumbs extended, that indicated that his

prayer had been heard; but if they extended their hands with thumbs turned in, that was the signal for the victor to give him the death stroke. Sometimes the dying were aroused and forced to resume the fight by being burned with a hot iron. The dead bodies were dragged from the arena with hooks, like the carcasses of animals, and the pools of blood soaked up with dry sand.

These shows increased to such an extent that they entirely overshadowed the entertainments of the circus and the theater. Ambitious officials and commanders arranged such spectacles in order to curry favor with the masses; magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the heads of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position"; wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which ten thousand gladiators fought upon the arena, and more than ten thousand wild beasts were slain.¹²

583. Luxury. — By luxury, as we shall use the word, we mean extravagant and self-indulgent living. This vice seems to have



FIG. 180. — SEMICIRCULAR DINING COUCH
(From a Pompeian wall painting)

been almost unknown in early Rome. The primitive Romans were men of frugal habits, who, like Manius Curius Dentatus (sec. 456), found contentment in poverty and disdained riches.

A great change, however, as we have seen, passed over Roman society after the conquest of the East and the development of the corrupt provincial system of the later republic. The colossal fortunes quickly and dishonestly amassed by the ruling class marked the incoming at Rome of such a reign of luxury as perhaps no other capital of the world ever witnessed. This luxury was at its height in the last century of the republic and the first of the empire.

¹² For the suppression of the gladiatorial games, see sec. 550.

Never perhaps has great wealth been more grossly misused than during this period at Rome.

584. State Distribution of Corn. — The free distribution of corn at Rome has been characterized as the “leading fact of Roman life.” It will be recalled that this pernicious practice had its beginnings in the legislation of Gaius Gracchus (sec. 467). Just before the establishment of the empire over three hundred thousand Roman citizens were recipients of this state bounty. In the time of the Antonines the number is asserted to have been even larger. The corn for this enormous distribution was derived, in large part, from a grain tribute exacted of the African and other corn-producing provinces. In the third century, to the largesses of corn were added doles of oil, wine, and pork.

The evils that resulted from this misdirected state charity can hardly be overstated. Idleness and all its accompanying vices were fostered to such a degree that we probably shall not be wrong in enumerating the practice as one of the chief causes of the demoralization of society at Rome under the emperors.

585. Slavery. — The number of slaves in the Roman state under the later republic and the earlier empire was very great, some estimates making it equal to the number of freemen. Some large proprietors owned as many as twenty thousand. The love of ostentation led to the multiplication of offices in the households of the wealthy and the employment of a special slave for every different kind of work. Thus there was the slave called the *sandalio*, whose sole duty it was to care for his master's sandals; and another called the *nomenclator*, whose exclusive business it was to accompany his master when he went upon the street and give him the names of such persons as he ought to recognize. The price of slaves varied from a few dollars to ten or twenty thousand dollars, — these last figures being of course exceptional. Greek slaves were the most valuable, as their lively intelligence rendered them serviceable in positions calling for special talent.

The slave class was chiefly recruited, as in Greece, by war and by the practice of kidnapping. Some of the outlying provinces

in Asia and Africa were almost depopulated by the slave hunters. Delinquent taxpayers were often sold as slaves, and frequently poor persons sold themselves into servitude.

The feeling entertained towards this unfortunate class in the later republican period is illustrated by Varro's classification of slaves as "vocal agricultural implements," and again by Cato the Censor's recommendation to masters to sell their old and decrepit slaves in order to save the expense of caring for them (sec. 456). Sick and hopelessly infirm slaves were taken to an island in the Tiber and left there to die of starvation and exposure. In many cases, as a measure of precaution, the slaves were forced to work in chains and to sleep in subterranean prisons. Their bitter hatred towards their masters, engendered by harsh treatment, is witnessed by the well-known proverb, "As many enemies as slaves," and by the servile revolts of the republican period.

Slaves were treated better under the empire than under the later republic, — a change to be attributed doubtless to the influence of Stoicism and of Christianity. From the first century of the empire forward there is observable a growing sentiment of humanity towards the bondsman. Imperial edicts take away from the master the right to kill his slave or to sell him to the trader in gladiators, or even to treat him with undue severity. This marks the beginning of a slow reform which in the course of ten or twelve centuries resulted in the complete, or almost complete, abolition of slavery in Christian Europe.

Selections from the Sources. — CATO, *On Agriculture*, chap. ii; the duties of a Roman proprietor. TACITUS, *Dialogue Concerning Oratory*, chaps. xxviii and xxix; the old and the new education.

References (Modern). — LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, earlier chapters, and *New Discoveries in the Forum*. CRUTTWELL, *History of Roman Literature*. SELLAR, *The Roman Poets of the Republic and The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*. MACKAIL, *Latin Literature*. TYRRELL, *Latin Poetry*. LAWRENCE, *Latin Literature*. HADLEY, *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. iii, "The Roman Law before Justinian." GIBBON, chap. xlv, for Roman jurisprudence. This chapter is one of the most noted of Gibbon's great work. INGE, *Social Life in Rome under*

the Cæsars. GUHL and KONER, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*; consult Index. LECKY, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*; a work of first importance. The student is recommended to read vol. i, chap. ii. DILL, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*; read bk. v, pp. 321-376, on "Characteristics of Roman Education and Culture in the Fifth Century." PRESTON and DODGE, *The Private Life of the Romans*. GILMAN, *The Story of Rome*, chap. xviii, "Some Manners and Customs of the Roman People."

Topics for Special Study. — 1. Roman architecture. 2. Roman villas. 3. Results of recent excavations in the Roman Forum. 4. The Roman roads. 5. The Roman drama. 6. Tacitus as an historian. 7. Seneca. 8. Pliny the Elder. 9. The Justinian Code. 10. Education of the Roman boy. 11. Society at Rome under the later empire. See *Dill*. 12. The gladiatorial combats. 13. Free distribution of corn at Rome. 14. Marriage ceremonies. 15. Funeral customs. 16. The Roman triumph.



FIG. 181. — ROMAN LAMENTATION FOR THE DEAD
(From an ancient marble relief)

PART IV—THE ROMANO-GERMAN OR TRANSITION AGE

(A.D. 476-800)

CHAPTER LI

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

586. Introductory.—In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the German tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the fall of Rome, of the principal kingdoms set up by the German chieftains in the different parts of the old empire.

587. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493-554).—Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors (sec. 560). His feeble government in Italy lasted only seventeen years, when it was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493-527),—years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that “the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period.”

The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, emperor

of the East (sec. 623), taking advantage of that event, sent his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, to deliver Italy from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was reunited to the empire (A.D. 554).

588. Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415-711). — The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of Southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman Empire in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his

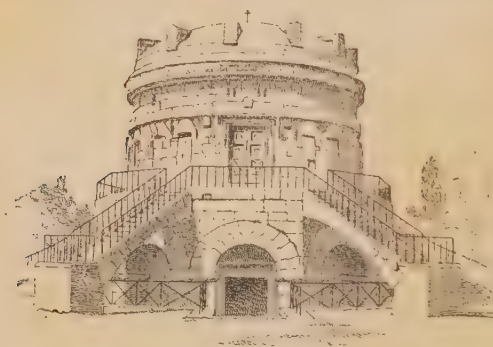


FIG. 182. — TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

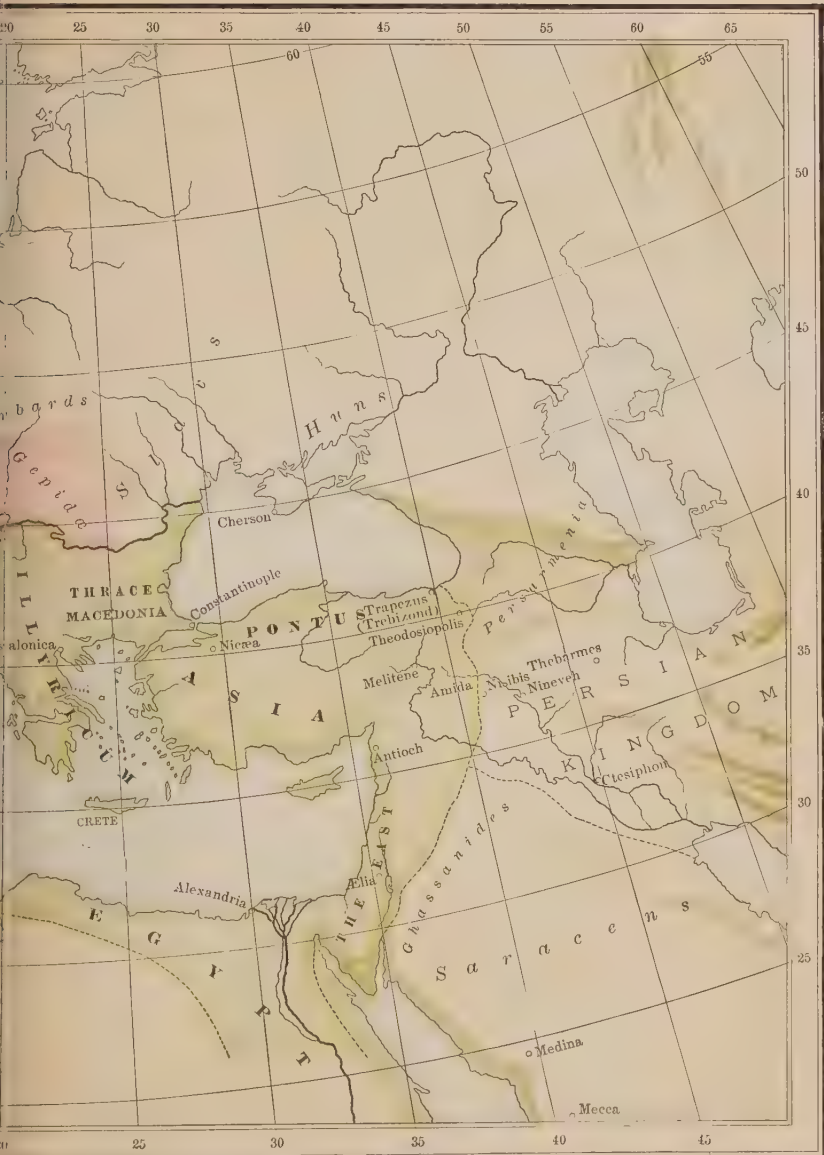
companions. Being driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, the Visigoths held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracens (sec.

635). The Visigothic kingdom when thus overturned had lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of to-day is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

589. Kingdom of the Burgundians (A.D. 443-534). — The Burgundians we have already noticed as the founders of a principality in Southeastern Gaul (sec. 556). They were hardly well established in these parts before they came in collision with the Franks on the north, and were reduced by them to a state of dependence.

590. Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 429-533). — We have also previously spoken of the establishment in North Africa of the Kingdom of the Vandals, and told how, under the lead of their





king, Geiseric, they bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome (sec. 559).

Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party, the followers of Athanasius. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, Justinian, the Eastern emperor, sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared ; the name alone remained.

591. The Franks under the Merovingians (A.D. 486-752). — Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks, as we have seen (sec. 556), were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Chlodwig or Clovis. Upon the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, Clovis conceived the ambition of erecting a kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman power. He attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor of Gaul, and at Soissons gained a decisive victory over his forces (A.D. 486). Thus was destroyed forever in Gaul that Roman authority established among its barbarian tribes more than five centuries before by the conquests of Julius Cæsar.

Clovis in a short time extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians¹ had become so feeble and inefficient that they were contemptuously

¹ So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

called *rois fainéants*, or “do-nothing kings,” and an ambitious officer of the crown known as Mayor of the Palace (*Major Domus*), in a way that will be explained a little later, pushed aside the weak Merovingian king and gave to the Frankish monarchy a new royal line, — the Carolingian.

592. Kingdom of the Lombards (A.D. 568–774). — Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian (sec. 587), before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards. When they entered Italy the Lombards were Christians of the Arian sect; but in time they became converts to the orthodox faith, and Pope Gregory I bestowed upon their king a diadem which came to be known as the “Iron Crown,” for the reason that there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

The Kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will to-day occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

One important result of the Lombard conquest of Italy was the destruction of the political unity established by the Romans and the breaking up of the country into a multitude of petty states. This resulted from the imperfect nature of the conquest and from the loose feudal constitution of the Lombard monarchy, which was rather a group of practically independent duchies than a real kingdom.

593. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain. — We have already seen how in the time of Rome’s distress the Angles and Saxons secured a footing in Britain (sec. 556). By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the island eight or nine or perhaps more kingdoms, — frequently designated, though somewhat

inaccurately, as the *Heptarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802-839), brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

594. Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire. — We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and that there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations, — tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners, and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (trans. by Thomas Hodgkin). Read bk. i, letters 24 and 35; bk. ii, letters 32 and 34; bk. iii, letters 17, 19, 29, 31, and 43; bk. xi, letters 12 and 13; bk. xii, letter 20. These letters are invaluable in showing what was the general condition of things in the transition period between ancient and mediæval times.

References (Modern). — HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders* and *Theodoric the Goth*; Hodgkin is recognized as the best authority on the period of the migration. GUMMERE, *Germanic Origins*; an authoritative and interesting work on the early culture of the Germans. GIBBON, chaps. xxxviii and xxxix. CHURCH, *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, chaps. i-v. EMERTON (E.), *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps. vi and vii.

CHAPTER LII

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

595. Introductory. — The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian (sec. 553). For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the Imperial City their lives (sec. 559). The more tolerable fate of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as compared with the hard fate of Britain, is owing, in part at least, to the fact that the tribes which overran those countries had become, in the main, converts to Christianity before they crossed the boundaries of the empire, while the Saxons, when they entered Britain, were still untamed pagans.

596. Conversion of the Goths, Vandals, and Other Tribes. — The first converts to Christianity among the barbarians beyond the limits of the empire were won from among the Goths. Foremost of the apostles that arose among them was Ulphilas, who translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, omitting from his version, however, the Books of the Kings, as he feared that the stirring recital of wars and battles in that portion of the Word might kindle into too fierce a flame the martial ardor of his new converts.

What happened in the case of the Goths happened also in the case of most of the barbarian tribes that participated in the

overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. By the time of the fall of Rome the Goths, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians had become proselytes to Christianity. They, however, professed the Arian creed, which had been condemned by the great council of the Church held at Nicæa during the reign of Constantine the Great (sec. 537). Hence they were regarded as heretics by the Catholic Church, and all had to be reconverted to the orthodox creed. This good work was gradually and almost perfectly accomplished.

The remaining Teutonic tribes of whose conversion we shall speak — the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the chief tribes of Germany — embraced at the outset the Catholic faith.

597. Conversion of the Franks.—The Franks, when they entered the empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith. The circumstances, as reported by tradition, were these. In a terrible battle between the Alemanni and the Franks under their king Clovis, the situation of the Franks at length became desperate. Then Clovis, falling upon his knees, called upon the God of the Christians, and vowed that if he would give victory to his arms he would become his follower. The battle turned in favor of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, was baptized, and with him three thousand of his warriors.

This story of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks illustrates how the very superstitions of the barbarians, their belief in omens and divine interpositions, and particularly their feeling that if their gods did not do for them all they wanted done they had a right to set them aside and choose others in their stead, contributed to their conversion, and how the reception of the new faith was often a tribal or national affair rather than a matter of personal conviction.

598. Importance of the Conversion of the Franks.—“The conversion of the Franks,” says the historian Milman, “was the most

important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history." It was of such moment for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other German invaders of the empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

599. Augustine's Mission to England. — In the year A.D. 596 Pope Gregory I sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them, and being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.

One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reestablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century.

600. The Conversion of Ireland. — The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. With such success were his labors attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith.

Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines.

Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the Pictish coast. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian

learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

601. The Conversion of Germany.—The conversion of the tribes of Germany was effected by Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish missionaries, and the sword of Charles the Great (sec. 642). The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface, who was born about A.D. 688. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the continent.¹

602. Reaction of Paganism on Christianity.—Thus were the conquerors of the empire met and conquered by Christianity. The victory, it must be confessed, was in a great degree a victory rather in name than in fact. The Church could not all at once leaven the great mass of heathenism which had so suddenly been brought within its pale. For a long time after they were called Christians, the barbarians, coarse and cruel and self-willed and superstitious as they were, understood very little of the doctrines and exhibited still less of the true spirit of the religion they professed.

To this depressing reaction of Teutonic barbarism upon the Church is without doubt to be attributed in large measure the deplorable moral state of Europe during so large a part of the mediæval ages.

II. THE RISE OF MONASTICISM

603. Monasticism defined; St. Antony, "the Father of the Hermits."—It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This was so remarkable a system, and

¹ The story of the conversion of the Scandinavian peoples, of the Eastern Slavs, and of the Hungarians belongs to a later period than that embraced by our present survey.

one that exerted so profound an influence upon mediæval and even later history, that we must here acquaint ourselves with at least its spirit and aims.

The term "monasticism," in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits or anchorites, — persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

St. Antony, an Egyptian ascetic (b. about A.D. 251), who by his example and influence gave a tremendous impulse to the strange enthusiasm, is called the "father of the hermits." The romance of his life, written by the celebrated Athanasius, stirred the whole Christian world and led thousands to renounce society and in imitation of the saint to flee to the desert. It is estimated that before the close of the fourth century the population of the desert in many districts in Egypt was equal to that of the cities.

604. Monasticism in the West. — During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

605. The Rule of St. Benedict. — With the view to introducing some sort of regularity into the practices and austerities of the monks, rules were early prescribed for their observance. The

three essential requirements or vows of the monk were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480-543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sec. 527) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that required the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeys.

606. Services rendered by the Monks to Civilization.—The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe. The monks, in a word, formed the vanguard of civilization towards the wilderness.

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the centers for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also became copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. Almost all the remains of the Greek and Latin classics that we possess have come to us through the agency of the monks.

The monks became further the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediæval ages.

III. THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

607. The Empire within the Empire. — Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which in its constitution and its administrative system was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of which deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans or archbishops, and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction, and this was already very widely recognized. Before the close of the eighth century there was firmly established over a great part of Christendom what we may call an ecclesiastical monarchy.

Besides the influence of great men, such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I, who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy and aided them vastly in establishing the almost universal authority of the see of Rome. In the following paragraphs we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

608. The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome. — The Catholic Church teaches that the apostle Peter was given by the Master primacy among his fellow apostles. It also teaches that Peter himself founded the church at Rome. Without doubt he preached there and suffered martyrdom under the emperor Nero.

These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of the first of the apostles and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly, of course, to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

609. Advantages of their Position at the Political Center of the World. — The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

610. Effect of the Removal of the Imperial Government to Constantinople. — Nor was this advantage that was given the Roman bishops by their position at Rome lost when the old capital ceased to be an imperial city. The removal, by the acts of Diocletian and Constantine, of the chief seat of the government to the East, instead of diminishing the power and dignity of the Roman bishops, tended greatly to promote their claims and authority. It left the pontiff the foremost personage in Rome.

611. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. — Again, when the barbarians came, there came another occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how

mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the Imperial City (sec. 558); and how the same bishop, in the year A.D. 455, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (sec. 559).

Thus when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed Pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman see.

612. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. — But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in Western Europe, and being so far removed from the court at Constantinople gradually assumed almost imperial powers. They became the arbiters between the barbarian chiefs and the Italians, and to them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. Especially did the bishops and archbishops throughout the West in their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

613. The Missions of Rome. — Again, the early missionary zeal of the church of Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the holy see and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the

continent, they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

614. Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens. — In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans. This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the church of Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

615. The Popes become Temporal Sovereigns. — A dispute about the use of images in worship, known in church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts,"² which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs.

Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople A.D. 716, was a most zealous iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the emperor resolved to clear also the Latin churches of the West of these "symbols of idolatry." To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome, Pope Gregory II, not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the emperor and all the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the true Catholic Church.

In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Frankish princes of the Carolingian house (sec. 641). We shall a little later tell briefly the story of this alliance. Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the Frankish chieftains as kings and emperors; the grateful Frankish kings defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and

² Iconoclast means "image breaker."

barbarian, and dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediæval time.

Selections from the Sources.—BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*. Read bk. i, chaps. xxiii–xxv; bk. ii, chaps. i and xiii; bk. iii, chaps. iii and xxv. *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. ii, No. 7, "Life of Saint Columban"; an instructive biography of an Irish monk. The subject of this biography is sometimes named "Columba the Younger," to distinguish him from Saint Columba of Iona. Henderson's *Select Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 274–314, "The Rule of Saint Benedict." *European History Studies* (Univ. of Nebraska), vol. ii, No. 6, "Monasticism." *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Second Series), vol. iv, for "Life of Saint Antony," by Athanasius. His biography can also be found in literal translation in Kingsley's *The Hermits*.

References (Modern).—ZIMMER, *The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture*; an authoritative and interesting account of the services rendered mediæval civilization by the Irish monks. SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iv, chap. ii, pp. 17–142, "The Conversion of the Northern and Western Barbarians." KINGSLEY, *The Hermits*. MONTALEMBERT (COUNT DE), *The Monks of the West from Saint Benedict to Saint Bernard*, 7 vols.; an ardent eulogy of monasticism. LECKY, *History of European Morals*, vol. ii, chap. iv; gives the light and the shade of the picture. WISHART, *A Short History of Monks and Monasteries*; the best short account in English of the origin, ideals, and effects of the monastic system. PUTNAM, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. i; for the labors of the monks as copyists and illuminators. JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars*, chap. iii, "Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery." HATCH, *The Organization of the Early Christian Church*; the best work on the subject from the Protestant side. FISHER, *History of the Christian Church*, the earlier chapters; concise, fair, and scholarly. EMERTON, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chap. ix, "The Rise of the Christian Church." ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. vi, "The Formation of the Papacy." CARDINAL GIBBONS, *The Faith of Our Fathers*, chap. ix, "The Primacy of Peter," and chap. x, "The Supremacy of the Popes"; an authoritative statement of the Catholic view of these matters.

Topics for Special Study.—1. Conversion of the Angles and Saxons. 2. The life of St. Antony. 3. St. Columba and Iona. 4. Whitby. 5. St. Benedict and Monte Cassino. 6. The *scriptorium* of the monastery.

CHAPTER LIII

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

616. Introductory. — The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the Northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and contributed greatly to hasten in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

617. The Romance Nations. — In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without changing very essentially the body into which they were incorporated. Thus, about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France — dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers — reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theaters and courts, kneeling

together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of the empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance nations, because at base they are Roman.

618. The Formation of the Romance Languages. — During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans, did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had, in a large measure, dropped their own tongue and were speaking that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

619. The Barbarian Codes. — The Teutonic tribes, before they entered the Roman Empire, had no written laws. As soon as they settled in the provinces, however, they began, in imitation of the Romans, to frame their rules and customs into codes. In some countries, particularly in Spain and Italy, this work was under the supervision of the clergy, and hence the codes of the Teutonic peoples in these countries were a sort of fusion of Roman

principles and barbarian practices. But in general these early compilations of laws—they were made, for the most part, between the sixth and ninth centuries—were not so essentially modified by Latin influence but that they serve as valuable and instructive memorials of the customs, ideals, and social arrangements of the Teutonic peoples.

620. The Personal Character of the Teutonic Laws.—The laws of the barbarians were generally personal instead of territorial, as with us; that is, instead of all the inhabitants of a given country being subject to the same laws, there were different ones for the different classes of society. The Latins, for instance, were subject in private law only to the old Roman code, while the Teutons lived under the tribal rules and regulations which they had brought with them from beyond the Rhine and the Danube. The curious state of things resulting from this personality of law, as it is called, is vividly pictured by the following observation of a chronicler: “For it would often happen,” he says, “that five men would be sitting or walking together, not one of whom would have the same law with any other.”

Even among themselves the Teutons knew nothing of the modern legal maxim that all should stand equal before the law. The penalty inflicted upon the evil doer depended not upon the nature of his crime but upon his rank or that of the party injured. Thus slaves and serfs were beaten and put to death for minor offenses, while a freeman might atone for any crime, even for murder, by the payment of a fine, the amount of the penalty being determined by the rank of the victim.

621. Ordeals.—The agencies relied upon by the Germans to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.

The *ordeal by fire* consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row

of hot plowshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, he was held to be innocent. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flame of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands.

The *ordeal by water* was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond; if he floated, he was held to be guilty; if he sank, innocent. The water, it was believed, would reject the guilty but receive the innocent into its bosom.

The *trial by combat*, or *wager of battle*, was a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even religious disputes were sometimes settled in this way.

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, as women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

622. The Revival of the Roman Law. — Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and Southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was bound to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place longer, likewise finally give way, almost everywhere and in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

Selections from the Sources.—HENDERSON's *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 176-189, "The Salic Law," and pp. 314-319, "*Formule Liturgicæ* in use at Ordeals." LEE's *Source-Book of English History*, chap. v, "Anglo-Saxon Laws." *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. iv, No. 4, "Ordeals," etc.

References (Modern).—EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. viii, "Germanic Ideas of Law." LEA, *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*. GUIZOT, *History of Civilization in France*, vol. i. lects. viii-xi. This work forms vols. ii-iv of the Appleton edition of the author's "History of Civilization in Europe" (1 vol.) and "History of Civilization in France" (3 vols.). HADLEY, *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. ii, "The Roman Law since Justinian."

Topics for Special Study.—1. The formation of the Romance languages. 2. Weregild. 3. Ordeals. 4. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe.

CHAPTER LIV

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

623. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527-565).— During the half century immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the Imperial City of the West. Had the New Rome — the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture — also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year A.D. 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the “Era of Justinian.”

624. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and “The Lawgiver of Civilization.”— One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the “Imperial Restoration,” by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sec. 590), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of *Exarch*. Besides recovering from the barbarians Africa and Italy, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his great generals was the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work, as we have already learned (sec. 577), embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world. In causing its publication, Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization."

625. **The Reign of Heraclius** (A.D. 610-641). — For half a century after the death of Justinian the annals of the Eastern Roman Empire are unimportant. Then we reach the reign of Heraclius, a prince about whose worthy name gather matters of significance in world history.

About this time Chosroes II, king of Persia, wrested from the hands of the Eastern emperors the fortified cities that guarded the Euphratean frontier and overran all Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. For many years Heraclius battled heroically for the integrity of the empire. The struggle between the two rivals was at last decided by a terrible combat known as the battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627). The Persian army was almost annihilated. Grief or violence ended the life of Chosroes. With his successor Heraclius negotiated a treaty which restored the earlier boundaries of the Roman dominions.

A few years after this the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. Heraclius himself lived to see — so cruel are the vicissitudes of fortune — the very provinces which he had recovered from the fire-worshippers in the possession of the followers of the Arabian Prophet.

The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople

became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

626. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East.¹ — The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructress of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.

Third, it kept alive the imperial idea and principle, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sec. 643).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of Eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world to-day largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

References. — GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chaps. xl–xliv; on the reign of Justinian. Chap. xlv deals with Roman jurisprudence. OMAN, *The Story of the Byzantine Empire*, chaps. iv–xi; and *The Dark Ages*, chaps. iii, v, vi, ix, and xii. HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv, “The Imperial Restoration.” RAWLINSON, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, chap. xxiv. *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. on Justinian by James Bryce. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols.; a work of superior scholarship. HARRISON, *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*; a brilliant lecture, which summarizes the results of the latest studies in the field indicated.

Topics for Special Study. — 1. The recovery of Italy. 2. Belisarius. 3. Introduction into Europe of the silk industry. 4. Justinian as a builder. 5. The Code of Justinian. 6. The closing by Justinian of the schools of Athens.

¹ Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii, chap. xiv.

CHAPTER LV

THE RISE OF ISLAM

627. The Attack from the South upon Ancient Civilization.—We have seen the German barbarians of the North descend upon and wrest from the Roman Empire all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.¹

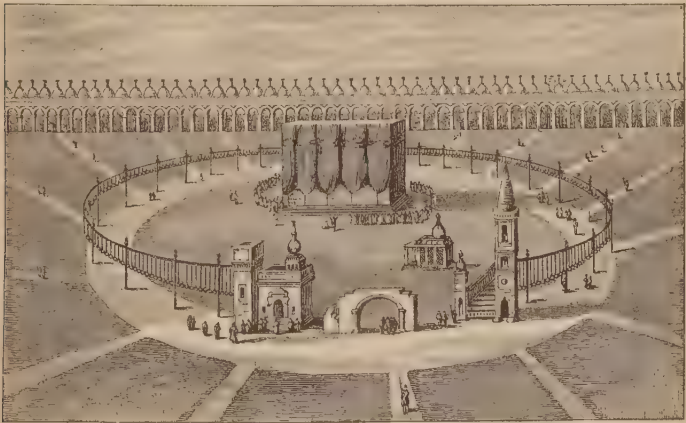


FIG. 183.—THE KAABA AT MECCA

628. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed.—Religion, which had had nothing to do with the fateful movement among the German barbarians, was the inciting cause of the great Arabian revolution.

Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and most

¹ The student should make a careful comparative study of the maps after pp. 534, 572, and 598.

revered shrine of the Kaaba,² where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this Meccan shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers, having been driven from Palestine by the Roman persecutions. From them the Arab teachers had been made acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the numerous Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the doctrines of Christianity.

629. Mohammed. — Mohammed, the great Prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year A.D. 570. He sprang from the distinguished tribe of the Koreish, the custodians of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba. In his early years he was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow-men. The essence of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.

For a long time Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he everywhere met, that at the end of three years his disciples numbered only forty persons.

630. The Hegira (A.D. 622). — The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the Koreish, who feared that they, as the guardians of the national idols of the Kaaba, would be compromised in the eyes of the other tribes by allowing such heresy to be openly taught by one of their

² So named from its having the shape of a cube.

number, and accordingly they began to persecute Mohammed and his followers.

To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or "flight," as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

631. The Faith extended by the Sword. — His cause being warmly espoused by the inhabitants of Medina, Mohammed now assumed along with the character of a lawgiver and moral teacher that of a warrior. He declared it to be the will of God that the new faith should be spread by the sword.

The year following the *Hegira* he began to attack and plunder caravans. The flame of a sacred war was soon kindled. Warriors from all quarters flocked to the standard of the Prophet. Their reckless enthusiasm was intensified by the assurance that death met in fighting those who resisted the true faith insured the martyr immediate entrance upon the joys of paradise. Within ten years from the time of the assumption of the sword by Mohammed, Mecca had been conquered (A.D. 630) and the new creed established among all the independent tribes of Arabia.

Mohammed's life was just sufficiently prolonged — he died in the year A.D. 632 — to enable him to set the Arabian tribes on their marvelous career of foreign conquest. Upon the ground of an insult to one of his ambassadors he declared war against Heraclius and wrested from the empire several cities lying between the Dead Sea and the Euphrates. These were the only conquests made beyond the limits of the peninsula during the lifetime of Mohammed.

632. The Koran and its Teachings. — The doctrines of Mohammedanism or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time Mohammed recited to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his

dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon pieces of pottery, the broad shoulder bones of sheep, and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the Prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Such was the origin of the book that has been received as sacred by so large a portion of the human race.

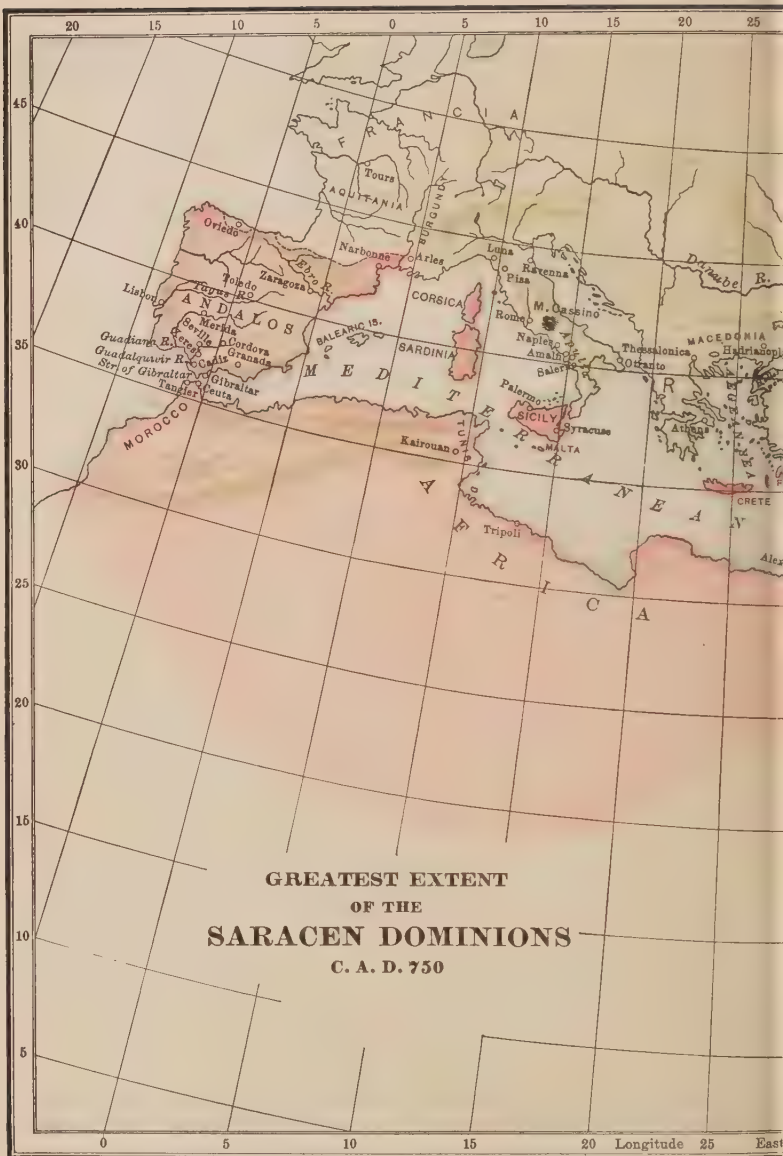
The Koran inculcates the practice of four cardinal virtues or duties. The first is prayer; five times every day must the believer turn his face towards Mecca and engage in devotion. The second requirement is almsgiving. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

633. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa.—For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the Prophet³ were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the ancient fire-worshippers. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals (sec. 624), were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost permanently to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

³ Abu Bekr (A.D. 632-634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. He was followed by Omar (A.D. 634-644), Othman (A.D. 644-655), and Ali (A.D. 655-661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins, for from the very first dissensions were rife among the followers of the Prophet. Ali was the last of the four so-called orthodox caliphs.

Bill Johnson



GREATEST EXTENT
OF THE
SARACEN DOMINIONS
C. A. D. 750



634. Attacks upon Constantinople. — Thus in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and across Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar on the other. We may expect to see the Saracens at one or both of these points attempt the invasion of Europe.

The first attempt was made in the East (A.D. 673–677), where the Arabs endeavored to gain control of the Bosphorus by wresting Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. After repeated unsuccessful assaults they abandoned the undertaking. Forty years later (A.D. 717–718) the city was again invested by a powerful Saracen fleet and army; but the skill and personal heroism of the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, and the use by the besieged of a recently invented combustible compound known as *marine fire* ("Greek fire") saved the capital for several centuries longer to the Christian world.

This check that the Saracens received before Constantinople was doubtless next in importance for European civilization to the check given their conquering hordes a little later in France at the great battle of Tours.

635. The Conquest of Spain (A.D. 711). — While the Moslems were thus being repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, the gates of the continent were opened to them by treachery at the western, and they gained a foothold in Spain. At the great battle of Xeres (A.D. 711), Roderic, the last of the Visigothic kings (sec. 588), was hopelessly defeated, and all the peninsula save some mountainous regions in the northwest quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

No sooner had the subjugation of the country been effected than multitudes of colonists from Arabia, Syria, and North Africa crowded into the peninsula, until in a short time the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became predominantly Arabic in dress, manners, language, and religion.

636. Invasion of France; Battle of Tours (A.D. 732). — Four or five years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the

Pyrenees and established themselves upon the plains of Gaul. This advance of the Moslem host beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. It looked as though the followers of Mohammed would soon possess all the continent. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

In the year A.D. 732, just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the Moslems upon the plains of Tours in the center of Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of Western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns.

637. The Dismemberment of the Caliphate.—"At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time the extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals—from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir—were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great Prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

638. The Civilization of Arabian Islam.—The Saracens were coheirs of antiquity with the Germans. They made especially their own the scientific⁴ accumulations of the ancient civilizations

⁴ Gibbon affirms that no Greek poet, orator, or historian was ever translated into Arabic. See *Decline and Fall*, chap. lii.

and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. From the Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, algebra, medicine, botany, and other sciences. The scientific writings of Aristotle, Euclid, and Galen, and Hindu treatises on astronomy and algebra were translated from the Greek and Sanskrit into Arabic, and formed the basis of the Arabian studies and investigations. Almost all of the sciences that thus came into their hands were improved and enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.⁵ They devised what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation,⁶ and gave to Europe this indispensable instrument of all scientific investigations dependent upon mathematical calculations.

All this literary and scientific activity naturally found expression in the establishment of schools, universities, and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian Empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement. The famous university at Cairo, which has at the present day an attendance of several thousand students, is a survival from the great days of Arabian Islam.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture, — one of the most beautiful specimens of which is preserved to us in the palace of the Moorish kings at Granada, — a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

⁵ What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is kept in remembrance by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

⁶ The figures or numerals, with the exception of the zero symbol, employed in their system, they seem to have borrowed from India.

Selections from the Sources.—The Koran, like the Bible for Christianity, is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam as a religion. The translation by Palmer, in *Sacred Books of the East*, is the best. *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed* (chosen and translated by Stanley Lane-Poole). *European History Studies* (Univ. of Nebraska), vol. ii, No. 3, "Selections from the Koran."

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Topics for Special Study.—1. Mohammed at Medina. 2. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. 3. The caliph Harun-al-Raschid. 4. The *Arabian Nights*. 5. The Moors in Spain.

CHAPTER LVI

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

639. Introductory.—We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the advance of the Saracens upon the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Among them it is that a man appears who makes the first grand attempt to restore the laws, the order, the institutions of the ancient Romans. Charlemagne or Charles the Great, their king, is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times,—indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

The story of this era affords the key to very much of the subsequent history of Western Europe. The mere enumeration of the events which are to claim our attention will illustrate the important and germinal character of the period. We shall tell how the mayors of the palace of the Merovingian princes became the actual kings of the Franks; how, through the liberality of the Frankish kings, the popes laid the foundations of their temporal sovereignty; and how Charlemagne restored the Roman Empire in the West, and throughout its extended limits, in the fusion of things Roman and of things Germanic, laid the basis of modern civilization.

640. How Duke Pippin became King of the Franks (A.D. 751).—Charles Martel, who saved the Christian civilization of Western Europe on the field of Tours, although the real head of the Frankish nation, was nominally only an officer of the Merovingian court (sec. 591). He died without ever having borne the title of king, notwithstanding he had exercised all the authority of that office.

But Charles' son, Pippin III, aspired to the regal title and honors. He resolved to depose his titular master and to make himself king. Not deeming it wise, however, to do this without the sanction of the pope, he sent an embassy to represent to him the state of affairs and to solicit his advice. Mindful of recent favors that he had received at the hands of Pippin, the pope gave his approval to the proposed scheme by replying that it seemed altogether reasonable that the one who was king in reality should be king also in name. This was sufficient. Childeric — such was the name of the Merovingian king — was straightway deposed, and Pippin, whose own deeds together with those of his illustrious father had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, was crowned king of the Franks (A.D. 751), and thus became the first of the Carolingian line, the name of his illustrious son Charles (Charlemagne) giving name to the house.

641. Pippin helps to establish the Temporal Power of the Popes (A.D. 756). — In the year A.D. 754 Pope Stephen II, troubled by the king of the Lombards, besought Pippin's aid against the barbarian. Pippin, quick to return the favor which the head of the Church had rendered him in the securing of his crown, straightway interposed in behalf of the pope. He descended into Italy with an army, expelled the Lombards from their recent conquests, and made a donation to the pope of the regained lands¹ (A.D. 756). As a symbol of the gift he laid the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, and of many other cities on the tomb of St. Peter.

This endowment may be regarded as having practically laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the popes; for although Pope Stephen, as it seems, had already resolved to cast off allegiance to the Eastern emperor and set up an independent Church state, still it is not probable that he could have carried out successfully such an enterprise had he not been aided in his project by the Frankish king.

642. Accession of Charlemagne; his Wars. — Pippin died in the year 768, and his kingdom passed into the hands of his two

¹ The sovereignty of all these lands belonged nominally to the emperor at Constantinople. His claims were ignored by Pippin.

sons, Carloman and Charles, the latter being better known by the name he achieved of Charlemagne or "Charles the Great." Three years after the accession of the brothers, Carloman died, and Charles took possession of his dominions.

Charlemagne's long reign of nearly half a century—he ruled forty-six years—was filled with military expeditions and conquests by which he so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of Western Europe. He made fifty-two military campaigns, the chief of which were against the Lombards, the Saracens, the Saxons, and the Avars.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous iron crown of the Lombards (sec. 592).

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his empire, under the title of the Spanish March.

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and led to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

To the east and the southeast, behind the German tribes that Charlemagne had reduced to obedience, were the Avars, a race terrible as the Huns of Attila, and an offshoot seemingly of the same stock. In a series of campaigns Charlemagne broke their power and reduced the race to a tributary condition. This subjugation of the Avars was one of the greatest services that Charlemagne



FIG. 184.—CHARLEMAGNE
(From a bronze statuette)

rendered the young Christian civilization of Europe. For three centuries they had been the scourge of all their neighbors.

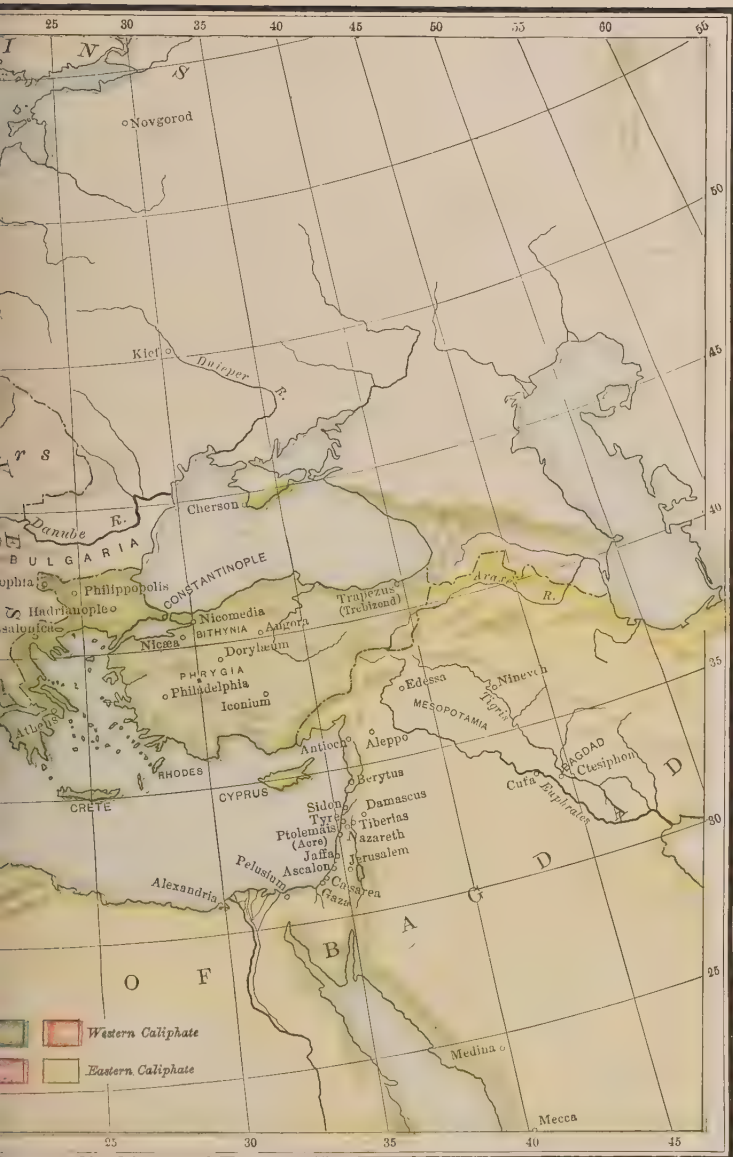
643. Restoration of the Empire in the West (A.D. 800). — An event of seemingly little real moment, yet in its influence upon succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished summarily the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now, among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could dispute in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charles was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, the pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred





and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer, when he dethroned Romulus Augustulus and sent the royal vestments to Constantinople (sec. 560). We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus.

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to determine the character of large sections of mediæval history.

Charlemagne reigned as emperor only fourteen years. He died A.D. 814, and his empire soon afterwards fell in pieces. It was renewed, however, by Otto the Great of Germany in the year 962 and came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire.

644. The Revival of the Empire as a Dividing Line in History.—As Pope Leo placed the imperial diadem upon the head of Charles in St. Peter's basilica he cried, "To Charles the Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor, life and victory." The Roman populace within the church repeated the cry, which was taken up by the Frankish warriors outside. "In that shout was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilization of the South with the fresh energy of the North, and from that moment modern history begins."²

Selections from the Sources.—EGINHARD (Einhard), *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great* (translation by William Glaister recommended). Einhard was Charles' confidential friend and secretary. "Almost all our real, vivifying knowledge of Charles the Great," says Hodgkin, "is derived

² Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 49. Bryce here uses the phrase "modern history" as comprehending both the mediæval and the modern period. For the moment he conceives history as presenting only two phases, the ancient and the modern.

from Einhard, and . . . the *Vita Caroli* is one of the most precious bequests of the early Middle Ages." Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 189-201, "Capitulary of Charlemagne, issued in the year 802." *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. vi, No. 5, "Selections from the Laws of Charles the Great."

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Topics for Special Study. — 1. The last of the Merovingians. 2. Charlemagne and the Saxons. 3. Romances connected with Charlemagne's expedition against the Mohammedans in Spain. 4. Alcuin and the Palace School. 5. The restoration of the Empire in the West. 6. The tradition of the burial of Charlemagne.

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE.—In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: ā, like *a* in *grāy*; ǣ, like *ā*, only less prolonged; ǣ̄, like *a* in *hāve*; ä, like *a* in *fär*; a, like *a* in *all*; ē, like *ee* in *meet*; ē̄, like *ē*, only less prolonged; ě, like *e* in *ënd*; ê, like *e* in *thêre*; ě̄, like *e* in *ěrr*; ĭ, like *i* in *pĭne*; ĭ̄, like *i* in *pĭn*; ō, like *o* in *nôte*; ō̄, like *ō*, only less prolonged; ȝ, like *o* in *nȝt*; ô, like *o* in *ôrb*; ōō, like *oo* in *moon*; ū, like *u* in *ūse*; ü, like the French *u*; e and eh, like *k*; ç, like *s*; ĝ, like *g* in *ĝet*; ĝ̄, like *j*; ŝ, like *z*; ch, as in German *ach*; g, small capital, as in German *Hamburg*; ñ, like *ni* in *minion*; ñ denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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